

ANTIQUITIES OF CHAMBA STATE

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Antiquities of Chamba State

BY

J PH VOGEL, Ph D.,

*SUPERINTENDENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY
NORTHERN CIRCLE*

PART I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PRE-MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

WITH 40 PLATES AND 30 TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS



Edited under the authority of the Government of India

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1911

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TO
HIS HIGHNESS
RAJA SIR BHURI SINGH KCSI CIE.
CHIEF OF CHAMBA

THIS EDITION OF THE EARLY RECORDS
OF HIS HOUSE AND STATE
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
AS A TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP AND GRATITUDE
BY THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

WHEN in the spring of 1902 my friend Mr T W Arnold then Professor of the Government College at Lahore first drew my attention to Chamba as a possible field of antiquarian research, I little foresaw what a wealth of epigraphical records this petty Hill State would prove to contain. Sir A Cunningham had visited Chamba in 1839 and devoted to it a few pages in two of his well known volumes. In these he discussed the inscribed images of Menu yamun and the chief temples of the capital, gave a list of the Rajas and mentioned the existence at Chamba town of four inscriptions three on copper plates and one on a stone slab. Here is also where, the great pioneer of Indian archaeology only demarcated the field leaving to others its further exploration.

During the years 1902-1908 I have been able to devote part of the summer months to this pleasant task and in the course of my tours have succeeded in recovering one hundred and thirty inscriptions. This result I attribute mainly to the vigorous support which from the outset my researches received from His Highness, Sri Bhumi Singh KCSI CIE Raja of Chamba to whom with the consent of the Government of India, this work is dedicated. The discovery of many unknown inscriptions is due to the information supplied by the officials acting under his orders and I may mention here, that His Highness has further shown his interest in the antiquities and past records of his State by founding a local Museum, which was opened on the 14th September, 1908 and has been rightly named after him.

The importance of these inscriptions for local history, it is hardly necessary to emphasize. They do not it is true help us to solve any of the great problems of Indian history but they enable us to write a more detailed and more coherent story of Chamba than of any of the other Himalayan States excluding Kāśmīr and Nepal.

These records moreover throw side lights on the history of neighbouring territories where ancient documents are less numerous and every scrap of information is of value. Even in places where historical documents do exist, their contents can often be supplemented from the Chamba inscriptions. This is particularly the case in Kāśmīr—the only country in India of which we possess a written history of the Hindu period. The famous *Rajataranginī* is replete with information about the 11th and 12th centuries the same epoch to which the bulk of the Chamba inscriptions belongs. Thus it happens that Kalhana's chronicle imparts life to the stone slabs and metal plates of Chamba whilst these contemporary documents in their turn confirm the trustworthiness of the great chronicle of Kāśmīr. Indeed the excellent annotated edition of the *Rajataranginī* both in Sanskrit and English by Dr M A Sten, CIE has been one of my chief guides in the course of my researches and it has been no small satisfaction to me to continue in Chamba the work so splendidly inaugurated in Kāśmīr by that distinguished scholar.

There is one circumstance which lends to the antiquities of Chamba an interest far exceeding the narrow limits of local history. It is that the past to which they belong, is connected with the present by a tissue of unbroken threads. Whereas in

other and more exposed parts of India one dynasty was quickly ousted by another new creeds and customs came to supplant the old ones and successive waves of foreign invasion swept away all remembrance of the past Chamba engulded by her snow clad mountain barriers has century after century, retained ancient traditions and institutions, which are only now gradually giving way to the irresistible onslaught of Western civilization.

The antiquarian can hardly refrain from deploring this change which, though beneficial in many respects, so often tends to destroy that what is sanctified by the ages. But instead of lamenting the unavoidable changes of time he will do well in retaining at least a record of the vanishing past.

Chamba is still ruled by a descendant of the noble house whose scions fought in the old wars of Kashmir side by side with Harsa and Sussala. He still resides in the same glorious Champa where his ancestors issued their copper charters and where his subjects still hail him with the classical greeting 'Jai Deo !' Up to the present day the people of Chamba worship in the temples founded by Sahila Varman in the 10th century and at Brahmoir the ancient capital Brahmapura the silent hewn idols are still enshrined in the wonderful wood carved frames in which Man Varman piously placed them twelve centuries ago. The Ranas—those barons of the Hills whose former importance was first revealed by the eulogies of Baijnath are still met with in Chamba often it is true reduced to the state of poor peasants but still clinging to their ancient title and to the ruins of their ancestral castles. The traveller too in the valleys of Chamba is still received after his day's march by an official whose title and presumably whose duties also have remained unchanged through the lapse of ages though they have passed into oblivion in every other part of India.

There are among our inscriptions some which are distinguished by no small degree of literary ability such as the eulogies of Sushahr Devir Kothi and Mul Kihai. But it must be admitted that the great majority do not attain a high standard of scholarship and we shall not be far wrong in assuming that whatever erudition they display was borrowed from the neighbouring seat of Sanskrit learning in Kashmir. The skilful poet of the Baijnath eulogy calls himself the son of a judge (*pramatar*) from that country and it was perhaps the civil wars of Kalhana's days which compelled many a pandit to seek refuge with the rulers of the adjoining Hill States.

Though inferior in literary interest the Chamba inscriptions are highly important from a paleographical point of view, for they form an uninterrupted series of Sarada records ranging from the time when this script was evolved out of the Western Gupta Alphabet down to the Muhammadan period, when it developed into Gurmukhi, Takari and other modern writings. In the course of the present work I shall endeavour to show that Sarada was once extensively used both in the Plains and the Hills of the Punjab, and that though this character was remarkably conservative its forms were by no means so immutable as the best authorities on Indian palæography have supposed. The Chamba records display a slow but distinct development, and I feel confident that they will supply a reliable base for establishing the approximate date for any document written in this script.

It is true that the chronology of the Chamba epigraphs is attended with very great difficulty owing to the almost exclusive use of the Lokakālī era. I have discussed the various thorny questions bearing on this subject in a special chapter of my introduction, but offer my conclusions with great diffidence except where they could be checked by so good an authority as the late Professor F. Kielhorn. His assistance—welcome always both for its own sake as for the kindness with which it was offered—I wish here gratefully to acknowledge.

Although in several cases I have not succeeded in fixing the precise date of the inscriptions here edited it has nearly always been possible to arrive at approximate dates and to establish the order in which they succeed each other. In this I have derived great benefit from the Chamba *Samavali* or Genealogical Roll which His Highness has allowed me to edit in the present volume. This roll furnishes us with a fairly complete list of the rulers of Chamba from about A.D. 700 and its historical accuracy can be checked by the aid of the inscriptions. There is therefore, much reason to assume that the ruling family of Chamba has indeed held sway in the Bani valley for more than twelve centuries and may boast of an antiquity equalled by few reigning houses in India and none in Europe.¹

A few words must be added on the subject of transliteration. Each system has its defects and the use of diacritical marks gives transcribed texts *per se* an unpleasant look of artificiality and clumsiness. Whereas the advocates of one system reproach their opponents with the use of such 'monstria' as *Kīṣṇa* the latter may as rightly object to ungainly forms like *Lichchhavi*. I have, therefore, chosen to reproduce the texts in Nagari, which is preferred to transcripts in Roman by most European and all Indian Sanskritists. These texts, thus made accessible to indigenous scholars, will it is hoped, stimulate their interest in the history of their own country.

In the introductory portions, where transliteration was unavoidable I have followed the international system adopted by the Oriental Congress and by most Oriental Societies. At the time when the present work was written this system was still followed in publications of the Archaeological Survey though recently it has been replaced by the Anglo-Indian system. Only in the name *Chamba* I have retained the usual spelling, in all other Indian words the *c* represents the non aspirated hard palatal and the *ch* the aspirata.

In conclusion I wish to give expression to my sincere gratitude for the manifold assistance received both in the discovery and in the study of the inscriptions of Chamba. The names of those to whom my thanks are due will be found mentioned in their proper places. Here I wish first of all to give expression to my gratitude for the cordial support which this publication has received throughout from Mr. J. H. Marshall C.I.E., Director General of Archaeology in India. Particularly, I am indebted to Dr. J. Hutchison of the Church of Scotland Mission, who himself a resident of Chamba for the last thirty years has ever been ready to supplement the evidence of the ancient records by his extensive knowledge of local customs, traditions

¹ The oldest reigning houses of Germany can trace their ancestry to the beginning of the 10th century of our era as do also that of Württemberg in Bavaria, that of Brabant in Hesse and that of Witten in Saxony. This does not however mean that from that date they have been the ruling dynasties of those countries.

and history. He has moreover rendered me a great service in reading through both the manuscript and the proofs of the present work. For the Tibetan inscriptions included in this work I was able to depend on so good an authority as the Rev. A. H. Francke of the Moravian Mission.

I have much pleasure also in recording the great help which has been rendered to me by Pandit Bhakur Das of Chamba whose services His Highness has kindly placed at my disposal whenever I visited his State. The Pandit's local knowledge, modesty and love for his native hills made him an ever interesting and pleasant companion on my tours. He is one of the very few representatives of traditional Sanskrit learning in Chamba, yet the study of the *śāstras* has by no means closed his eye to the interests of the World of the living. To the Pandits Daya Ram Sahni and Huananda of the Archaeological Department I owe some clever conjectures and useful references. Pandit Daya Ram has also assisted me in the tedious task of correcting the *Vamśavali* and in revising the proofs.

Not must I omit to mention the name of my photographer, Munshi Ghulam Nabi, who has accompanied me on many a hard march along the mountain roads of Chamba. He has taken all the photographs used to illustrate the present volume and prepared the estampages of the inscriptions here reproduced. The illustrations will testify to the quality of his work. The reproduction was entrusted to Messrs. W. Guggs & Sons, Peckham, London, and carried out with the care for which their establishment is rightly renowned.

The labour, both physical and mental bestowed on collecting and deciphering these epigraphs has been great. But the labour we delight in physics pain. And truly delightful has been the task of revealing the antiquarian treasures hidden in that glorious mountain region which a popular adage so rightly describes as *Chamba acī ambā* "Chamba the Charming."

J. P. H. VOGEL

LAKHOT

The 1st April 1910

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ABBREVIATIONS



A. S. R.	Archaeological Survey Report
A. R. A. S.	Annual Report, Archaeological Survey
Ba. S.	Brhad samhita
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary
J. A. S. B.	Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal
J. I. A.	Journal of Indian Art and Industry
J. R. A. S.	Journal, Royal Asiatic Society
Mud. P.	Markandeyapurana
Mrch. til.	Murchison (See Sudra.)
N. P. W.	Bohtlingk (O.) Sanskrit Wörterbuch in kurzer Fassung St. Petersburg, 1879-89
P. W.	Bohtlingk (O.) und Roth (R.), Sanskrit Wörterbuch. St. Petersburg 1853-72
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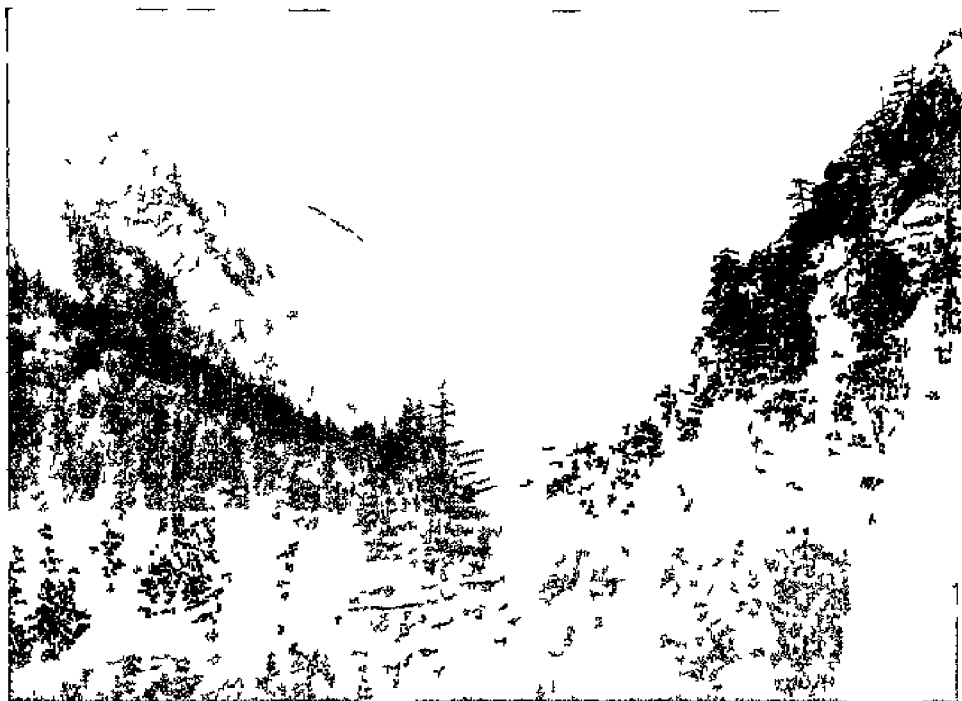


Fig. 1. Scene A

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY (PLATES I AND V)

ONLY three quarters of a century ago Chamba State was a *terra incognita*. The traveller George Forster, who on his journey through the Langjoh Hills by way of Nuim, Basohli and Jammu in 1833 almost skirted the western boundary of Chamba, refers to it as "the Chumbay country, a mountainous territory of large extent." This seems to be the first mention of the State by a European. William Moore, often in describing the course of the Ravi is more detailed. But he only reproduces native accounts which had reached him on his march through Kangra in July 1820. Hence his information is confused and inaccurate. He notes that the Ravi in its upper course is called Ravi. It is curious that he takes the river of Mammahes and Haisar—the Budli— as the principal source. What is now considered the main river, the Siang from Blunso (i.e. Baia Bhanso). He states correctly that the two branches meet at Ulan, but reverses the relative position of this place and Gharial. For the rest the situation of Chamba at the junction of the Ravi and the Savao Sal is correctly described.

He then makes the Tawi a tributary of the Ravi, and the Uj a tributary of the Tawi, whereas in reality the Tawi (on which Jammu is situated) flows into the Chamb and the Uj into the Ravi. The confusion is probably due to the fact that the Tawi and the Uj take their rise from the same mountain not far from Kund Kapli. Kothi Beloti mentioned by Moorcroft as the place from which the Uj takes its origin is probably the village Beloti on the left bank of the upper Uj.

We have reason to regret that the distinguished traveller did not accept the invitation of the Rani of Chamba who was indisposed and wanted his medical advice. He was apparently deterred by the reports about the difficulty of the road thither, it being necessary in many places to drag men and baggage by ropes up the steep sides of the rock. Had Moorcroft personally visited Chamba his account would no doubt have been far more accurate and detailed.

The first European who visited Chamba was Vigne. His itinerary though entertaining and full of interest does not possess the scholarly thoroughness of Moorcroft. He is less accurate in the rendering of proper names and indulges in phantastical etymologies. Vigne visited Chamba in February 1839, in the reign of Rani Chhat Singh. He came from Basohli and left again for Nainital by the Curia Pass. He gives a good account of the capital but did not visit the interior of the State.

It was only after the annexation of the Punjab that Chamba became better known to Europeans especially as the abundance of game attracted many sportsmen. The antiquarian remains of Chamba were first brought to notice by Sir Alexander Cunningham who visited Chamba for the first time in A.D. 1853. He extended his tour to the Upper Ravi Valley and was the first to describe the ancient capital Brahman and its temples.

Chamba State is situated in the Western Himalaya between north latitude $32^{\circ} 11' 30''$ and $33^{\circ} 13' 6''$ and east longitude $75^{\circ} 19'$ and $77^{\circ} 3'$. The superficial area of the State is 3216 square miles. This is somewhat more than that of the Grand duchy of Hesse (2969) and somewhat less than that of the Principality of Montenegro (c. 3630). But whereas the population of these two countries amounts to 1,209,175 and c. 230,000 (or 107.1 and 63.3 per square mile) respectively that of Chamba is only 127,341 or 10.9 to the square mile. The mountainous nature of the country accounts for the scantiness of the population.

Chamba is traversed by three well defined snow ranges which run from south east to north west nearly parallel to one another and at a distance of thirty to forty miles. The outer range is the Dhaul Dhar (Shi. ** Dhaul dhar*, the 'white Crest') which for 36 miles forms the southern boundary of Chamba territory. Within the State its peaks rise to a height of 15,000 to 18,000. Its geological

He has in question must have been Rani Sarb, the queen mother and regent during the minority of her son, Chhat Singh (1805-1841).

Travels Vol. I, p. 182.

Travels Vol. I, p. 180.

Cunningham *As. Res.* Vol. I, p. 1 and *J. R. A. S.* p. 77. He described the River Ravi after leaving the north-eastern part of Lah. and not within the boundaries between Chamba and Lah. also.

In the following table a list of the geographical features of Chamba is given followed by the *Chamba Gazetteer* for 1911.

continuation across the Ravi is the Chhatta Dhar in Jammu territory. The second range is the Pin Paragol Range which runs through Chambha territory for more than 60 miles and divides the State into two sections of unequal size. Its mean elevation cannot be less than 17 000 and the passes range from 14 328 to 18 000 which is about double the height of the Great St. Bernard Pass (8 110). The Dagan Dhar a branch of this range runs westwards along the northern boundary of the State. It is connected with the Chhatta Dhar by a short cross range in which are the Chhatta Dhar and Padri Passes. The third range called the Zangskai Rang—a section of the Western Himalaya—closes in the Chambha State along its northern border. Its mean altitude reaches 18 600 and some of its peaks rise to 20 000 which is more than double the height of Monte Corno the highest peak of the Apennines (9 513).

These three mountain-barriers enclose two regions of a widely different character. That between the Dhauladhar and the Pin Paragol constitutes the drainage area of the Ravi; that between the Pin Paragol and the Zangskai Range comprises the valley of the Candhabhaga or Cinab. Besides the State includes a hill tract situated between the Dhauladhar and a low range which runs parallel with it to the south known as the Hathu Dhar or Elephant Range. This area is watered by the Cakki and the Dohl (nag Daul), tributaries of the Bias and therefore belongs to the drainage area of that river.

The political division of Chambha is entirely determined by the mountain-system. The State is divided into five provinces or *wazarats* of which three belong to the Ravi valley and one to that of the Candhabhaga, while the fifth is the outlying territory draining into the Bias. The nucleus of the State is the Brahmo *wazarat*—also called Gaderan or the country of the Gaddis—comprising the valleys of the upper Ravi and its tributaries the Budhil and the Tundeln. It is named after the ancient capital of Brahmo situated on the left bank of the Budhil. The lower portion of the Ravi valley which was the first province added to the original Brahmo State (presumably in the first half of the 10th century) comprises the present capital and may therefore, conveniently be called the Chambha *wazarat*. The Brahmo and Cham *wazarats* are separated by the Tundeln Range, the Chambha and Cinab *wazarats* by the Saho Range which comes to an end at the fork at the junction of the Ravi and Syuhl (Sul). The basin of the Syuhl and its tributaries forms the north western province known as Cinab. This name occurs as *Citraba* in a copper plate grant of Raja Bhota-yamun who ruled in the first half of the 15th century.¹

An intermediate town which is still occasionally used is Caarali. The name is commonly explained as a compound of Sanskrit *cauri* and Persian *rah*. It may, however, be doubted whether, in the appellation of a remote valley in the inner Himalaya, we are to assume the occurrence of a Persian word which is strange to the local dialect. It is, moreover, far from clear which town

roads may be taken as being at the root of the supposed derivation. It seems more probable that the ancient name was pure Sanskrit. The parallel, Bhadravah from Bhadravaka, perhaps justifies us in assuming an original form, *Catrasa.¹

So much is certain that Curah must have become included in Chamba State at an earlier date than the more remote Pangri, i.e., before the 12th century. It may be inferred from some of our inscriptions that in the 11th and 12th centuries, Curah was alternately ruled by the Rajas of Chamba and by those of the neighbouring hill state of Bakm (Sri Vallapura). Possibly it belonged to the latter State previous to the foundation of Chamba town.

The *wazirat* of the Candrabhaga valley comprises Pangri and Lahul. These are about equal in size and are separated by a lofty spur from the Zaskar Range, called the Ghor Dhar (map Gurdhar) which runs in a south westerly direction between the Senu and Minvri talas. Pangri, the lower portion of the valley is mentioned in two inscriptions under the name of Pangri. Epigraphical evidence shows that it belonged to Chamba in the 12th century, but the designation of local officials in a record of the same period seems to indicate that at an earlier date it was ruled by some Tibetan power. The *wazirat* of Lahul has not yielded a single inscription in which a Raja of Chamba is mentioned as overlord of the province.² The earliest proof of Chamba suzerainty over part of Lahul is supplied by the name Udrupin by which Mirkula is indicated and which is ascribed to Raja Bahadur Singh of Chamba (A.D. 1690-1720). There is reason to assume that at an earlier period it belonged to the Gyalpos of Ladakh who at one time extended their dominion over British Lahul and Kulu. Moorcroft notes that four villages Barkhanak (?) and three others which he passed on his way from Sisul to Tandul, paid rent to the State of Ladakh, though acknowledging military fealty to the Raja of Kulu.³

The name Lahul has been explained as a derivation of Lho-yul meaning 'South land'. But Mr. Francke informs me that this etymology is improbable, because in Tibetan sources Lahul is always indicated by the name of dGa'i-za. Chamba Lahul is locally known as Sual but in the Gai dialect it is called Re-phags. The whole tract along the Candrabhaga from Tund to Indul is called Manchad.

The area between the Divala Dhar and Hathul Dhar, including a small portion of the Ravi valley forms the Bhottal *wazirat*. Geographically nearly the whole of this territory belongs to the Kangra valley. Under what circumstances it became attached to Chamba State it is impossible to say. So much is certain that it formed part of Chamba in the days of Raja Samgramavarman who granted land in the Hubal (map Ubran) *pargana* to his *purohita* in the Sastri year 22 (A.D. 1446), four years after the death of his father Bhota varman.

¹ The word *catra* is a Sanskrit name with the meaning cross way place where a four roads meet. It is a copper plate grant (No. XI) of Lalanda varman dated Saka 1408, Sastri 57. Kailash *ku* 12 (3rd November A.D. 1831).

² Mr. Francke has found traditions which point to an earlier occupation of part of Minval (left bank) by the Chamba Rajas but they have not yet been confirmed by any epigraphical record. The Ranas of Guj near the junction of the Chail and Bhatu are said to have been in possession of a copper plate granted by a Raja of Chamba.

³ *Ofa-ka-Ga-rtan* p. 94. Harcourt *Kashmir* pp. 123 ff. Moorcroft *Tibet* Vol. I, p. 198.

⁴ Car is the Bhaga valley from Tendul to Kolong comprising three *Kashtas*.

⁵ The form Blat is a Persian plural ending has lately been introduced in official documents.

Sangrama's grandson, Ganesa varman also granted lands in the Hubai *pargana* in *samvat* 34 (A D 1508) and built in its south eastern corner a fortlet named after him Ganes Garh (marked 'Fort' on survey map) The Bhatti *nazarat* is probably named after the Bhatti caste. It is noted as the recruiting ground for the Chamba army.

The *nazarats* of Chamba State are subdivided into *parganas* which vary considerably in extent. It is reputed that their original number amounted to eighty-four but at the present time there are only fifty-two. This is partly due to loss of territory once included in Chamba State and partly to the amalgamation of different *parganas* since A D 1863. It appears that in the pre-Muhammadan period the State was divided into districts called *mandala* (circle) in the Sanskrit title deeds of the 10th and 11th centuries. The names of some of these *mandalas* have been preserved in the present *parganas* and as the latter are mostly defined by natural boundaries we may assume that their area also agrees with that of the ancient districts. In describing the course of the main rivers of Chamba, I shall note the *parganas* and the places of archaeological interest which they contain.

The Ravi, the central one of the five rivers of the Panjab, is essentially the main stream of Chamba. Its ancient name *Iravati* ('refreshing') is found in Sanskrit literature.¹ The Ravi became known to Alexander's historians under the name of Hydaspes evidently derived from Sanskrit *Iravati* under the influence of the Greek *Indos*. The *Rhondus* of Ptolemy presupposes a later Indian form **Rondi* intermediate between *Iravati* and the modern *Ravi*.² Broom³ speaks of the *Iravi*. He says that the river *Iravi* is joined by the river *Kaj* which rises in Naikot in the mountains of Bhatal. In his table of Indian rivers he calls it *Iravati*. By the river *Kaj* he probably means the *Caj* which however is in reality a tributary of the Bias. In Chamba the Ravi is known by three different names. In the upper valley it is called *Ranti* in the central portion *Ravvi* and in the lower part it is known by the name *Ravi* which it bears in the plains. Thus we meet with the intermediate stages through which the original name has become changed to its modern form. In the *Farisat* the river is regularly referred to by its Sanskrit name *Iravati*. In some of the later copper plates⁴ it is called *Rayva*, but usually it is simply indicated as *rai* (Skt *navati*) the river.

The main source of the Ravi lies outside Chamba territory in the mountain tract known as Bari Bhangra which once formed part of the principality, Bhargal and is now included in the Kangra district. After entering Chamba, the river flows in a narrow gorge (plate III) through the *parganas* of Bari Bhangra (map Bari Bhangra) Tritha (map Tritha) and Canhora (map Chanora). It is said that

¹ In the *Rajvala* (VII 18 VIII 61) the *Iravati* is mentioned under the name of *Parusni*. Cf. Thomas *History of the Punjab* J R A S Vol. XV N 8 p 73. I do not know whether there is any good reason for identifying the *Parusni* with the *Ravi*. If we may be allowed to regard the *Madhira* as the *Iravati* the second member of that name might be found in B 151.

² Cf. the *Asiatic Researches* pp 23 27 and 3. Strabo has the form *Hydaspes*.

³ *India* Vol I pp 26-29 n 260.

⁴ Copper plates of Ganesa varman dated *samvat* 18 (A D 1531) 18 No XLVIII of Pratap Singi dated *samvat* 45 Yiyama 1826 (A D 1879) 110 and No XLXVI of Lalabhadra dated *samvat* 46 Yiyama 1849 (A D 1892) 9.

Dyol (map Dhole) used to form a fourth district between Bara Bhanso and Tiehta. The village of that name was until lately in possession of a State *kuthe* such as is found at the head quarters of each *pargana*. It was ruined in the earthquake of 4th April 1905. Over its entrance there was an inscription of Raja Udra Singh (A.D. 1690-1720) which has now been placed in the State Museum (Cat. No. 130). Dyol is mentioned in the *Tomsavali* (sl. 19) as the birth place of Vasanta Varman under the form *Devale* perhaps Sanskrit *deva-laya* meaning 'temple'. Near the village a cave is shown where the happy event is said to have taken place.

The name *Tiehta* is derived from Sanskrit *Tirghattaka*,¹ by which name the district is referred to in a copper plate inscription of Somavarma of the 10th century. The name points to the existence of three passes (*Ski ghatta* Hindi *ghat*). There are in reality three roads leading from this part of the Ravi valley across the Dhuda Dhar into Kangra. Their names are Alaka daghat, Suru daghat and Suali daghat. The one first mentioned leads to Bhagat Bhainsala the other two to Palampur. It will be noticed that they are still indicated by the name *ghat*. The village of Kulhat (map Kolat) situated in the Tiehta *pargana*, $\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Dyol occurs in the same inscription under the name of Kulika goshthi. This name indicates that it was a settlement or station (*Ski goshthi*) of Kulikas, a tribe mentioned in the copper plate, along with the Khasas. In Chamla the word *gosh* derived from Sanskrit *goshthi* is particularly applied to a settlement of shepherds.

A third inscription in the upper Ravi valley is found on a small partly ruined *Sevalay* (fig. 28) at Ghumsal near Sutliu, the ancient head quarters of the Tiehta *pargana*. The present head quarters of the district is Dhan on the right bank of the Ravi. The *Tothia* both of Sutliu and Tinn were ruined in the great earthquake.

Near Ulnasa (map Hulna) the Ravi is joined by two fair sized tributaries the Budhal (Budhli) and the Tundehn (Tundahen). The Budhal takes its rise near the Kukti Pass and flows past Badimon, the ancient capital which is situated on its left bank. The Tundehn takes its rise from the Kuchcho Pass and after flowing through the Tundah valley joins the Ravi at a point a little lower down than the Budhal. The confluence of the Ravi and the Budhal, known by the name of Khara mulh (*Ski Sad mulha*?) is held sacred as a *tothi*. It is described in the *Pamsavali* (verse 42) as the scene of the asceticism of the father of Meru Varman, the famous ruler of Badimon. Whether the word *Budha* in the same passage really represents the ancient designation of the Budhal seems doubtful, as it does not account for the *l* at the end of the modern name.

The valleys of the Budhal and Tundehn constitute the Brahman *pargana* which in exceeds the average size of such divisions. It was once ruled by an official called *amin* and is subdivided into *dehwalis*, each placed under its own *ardhal* or revenue officer. It is noteworthy that this arrangement exists only in the Brahman district which points to its having formed a distinct unit.

¹ The Pehoa inscription of the horse dealers of the Harsa sam at 2 G (A.D. 987) ll. 6 and 11 makes mention of a locality of the name of Tirghatta, but this must be a different place. Tiehta would indeed be a most suitable field of business for horse dealers, as there is not a single road practicable for horses. The Pehoa inscription is preserved in the Lalor Museum (No. 22). Cf. *J. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 181 ff.

² *Himalaya Settlement Report*, p. VI (App.)

³ *Kathi Koha*, s. Waterfall of Dulah.

Brühmör, the ancient Capital



Brahmori is mentioned under the name *Bahray* in two local legends of the 10th century. From this name which means either 'Town of Brahman' or

Town of the Brahmins, it is evident that originally it was applied to the ancient capital and in the second place to the principality. Kalhana mentions Brahmapura among the countries of the north-eastern region along with Kasmir, Abhisira, Darda, Kuluta, Daira, Damara and others. It is very likely that here the ancient principality on the Upper Ravi is meant. In the *Muhammadiya purana* also the Brahmapurakas are mentioned in the same connection.¹

Kalhana in his account of Sussala's campaign against the chiefs of the Gush and Ravi valleys who had supported the pretender Bhiksaka, praises the king because he 'piously preserved in the enemy's land Brahmapuri' and its temples and thus earned the original merit of these foundations. It seems possible that here also there is a reference to Brahmoi, the ancient capital on the Ravi as Jaisata of Chamba was one of the princes who had espoused Bhiksaka's cause. But the passage is too vague to allow us to speak with certainty.



Fig. 2. Temple of Laksana Devi

At present Brahmoi is only a village (plate II) but its pastime glory is still attested by four brass idols three of which bear inscriptions recording their erection by Meru Varmān who must have lived about A.D. 700 (plates VII-IX). That of Laksana Devi is enshrined in a temple adorned with profuse wood carvings which are presumably contemporaneous with the image. The two stone temples of

¹ B. S. XIV 29-30 quoted by Bernier *Inda* Vol. I p. 303 *Ma. L. P.* 95-48-93

² *Rajast.* VIII 628 transl. Sen Vol. II p. 50. The word *bahray* is used elsewhere (VIII 947 and 28) as a general name designating some pious foundation.

Manmaches and Narsingh (figs 16 and 17) are probably of a later date. The former must have replaced an older shrine which is referred to in the inscription on the brassen bull of Jai Ramman placed in front of the building. The somewhat smaller *chhara* temple of Narsingh contains the brass image of that deity erected by a queen Tribhuba in 1218 and endowed by Jugakara Ramman, the son of Sahila Ramman, presumably in the 10th century. This temple was seriously damaged in the earthquake of 11th April 1905. Most of the small *linga* shrines, scattered among the three main temples collapsed on the same occasion. The State *khathi* ascribed to Raja Pithvi Singh (A.D. 1641-1684) was partly ruined but most of the wood carvings have been placed in the Chambra Museum. (Cat. Nos. 1' 1-6).

A copper plate grant (No. LXI 115) of Raja Balabhadra dated Vikrama 1691, Saka 10, A.D. 1631, contains the name *Brahma*, but the context does not bear out which locality is indicated.¹



Fig. 3. Temple of Sakti Devi.

The ancient Brahman State represented by the *wazirat* of that name, included besides the districts already mentioned the following *paraganas* situated on both sides of the river below its junction with the Budhal — Ranhum (other *map* Koli) Pyulna (*map* Pan) on the left bank and Bely (*map* Bely) Gum (*map* Guli) and Lalhi (*map* Lu) on the right bank. The latter three *paraganas* now form one district. The village of Chaturah of the Pyulna *paraganas* possesses a famous Devi temple founded by Meru Ramman about A.D. 700. At Gum on the opposite bank an

¹ The passage reads: *Br. Inor dā gī āhī (?) j. e. bīl s. i. Rone (?) 1152*

The two villages = Lalhi and Bely (*map* Bely) Upper and Lower Lalhi though situated on the right bank belong to the Lalhi *paraganas*.

inscription is found of a feudatory of the same prince. It mentions *Srupa* the ancient name of the place.

Travelling along the course of the river as far as Chamba town we meet with the following *parganas*—On the right bank Kulandia (map Kalander), Sambana (map Samra) and Panpala on the left bank Basu Bakru Mehla (map Mala), Bhaminhi (map Barana) and Kue (map Karan). The village of Tui in the Basu *pargana* has yielded no less than four ancient inscriptions. In the 10th century it was the seat of a Rana who owed allegiance to the Raja of Chamba. From one of the inscriptions (No. 17) it appears that the ancient name of the place was Maluti which perhaps is the same as the *Mak talota* mentioned in the *Pamavati* (verse 78).

Panpala occurs in a title deed of the 11th century (No. 25) as the *Panthala nandala* and will be referred to subsequently.



Fig. 4. Chamba Town from Mungla.

Chamba Town is picturesquely situated on a plateau above the junction of the Ravi and the Sal or Saho. It is built round a rectangular green which here as elsewhere in the Panjab Hills is indicated by the name *cauga*.¹ In 1839 Vigne

The Persian word *cauga* (چاغا) still lives in the game of polo as *chogan* not only in Persia itself but also in Afghanistan. It is derived from the Persian *chagan* and is equivalent to the polo ground being a large Persia by the well-known word *chad*. We now, however, assume that the word *cauga* is also applied to the green on which the game is played and it would also be the use of the word in the present sense. The word *polo* originates from Baltistan and means ball. It is very curious that the game has become known in Persia not by its Indian name but by its British name. I may add that prior to the time of the Crusades the game was introduced in Lancashire under the name of *ch'cane* which is evidently derived from Persian *cauga* (chogan) the Middle English word *ch'cane*.

estimated the number of inhabitants at 4,000 to 5,000. At present it is 6,000. The most conspicuous building is the palace, the oldest portion of which dates back only to the middle of the 18th century.

Immediately north of the palace there is a group of six stone temples arranged in a row from north to south. Three of these temples are dedicated to Vishnu and three to Shiva. Northernmost is that of Lakshmi Narayan or Lakshmi Nath, the principal temple of Chamba. It contains an image of white marble adorned with golden ornaments which were presented by various Rajas of the 17th and 18th centuries. The temple is said to have been founded by Sullha Varman shortly after the foundation of the town, and the marble of the image is believed to have been brought from the Vindhya by his son Yugakara.

Of the other five temples of this group I wish only to note those of Chandigupt and Timukh both *linga* shrines ascribed to Sahilla-varman and that of Gauri-Sankar with a brass image attributed to Yugakara.

Near the Chogan Gate we find another Vishnu temple known by the name of Hari Rai. It is in possession of a copper plate granted by Raja Somar Varman but issued in the first year of his successor Asata. From this inscription it appears that this temple was erected in the second half of the 13th century by one Lal Smaran Varman who was probably a scion of the ruling house.

Between the palace and the *chogan* there is a stone temple dedicated to the goddess Champarti. Tradition holds that the town was named after her but another explanation is that it owed its name to the abundance of *champa* trees (*Michelia champaka*). It seems very likely that the name of the goddess is derived from that of the tree so that thus in any case would be the origin of the name of the town.

There is no reason to doubt the tradition that Chambar was founded by Sahilla Varman as two copper plate grants issued by his son and grandson are dated from Chambar as the seat of government. In these inscriptions the name of the town is spelt *Canjala*. In the *Rajatarangini* it is called Campa from which the modern name is derived.

The foundation of Campa must have taken place in the first half of the 10th century. There is therefore no authority for the statement made by Professor Rhys Davids that Campa the capital of Anga was named after the town on the Ravi. Campa in Anga was one of the oldest cities of Madhyadesa and is frequently referred to in Sanskrit literature. In the Book of the Great Decease it is included among the eight great towns of India. Campa on the Ravi is not mentioned before the 10th century and was probably founded about that time. Its earliest mention in literature occurs in the *Rajatarangini* (VII 218) in connection with the expeditions of Anantadeva of Kashmir (A.D. 1028-1063). It is clear that Campa on the

of Vol. I, Table No. I pp. 10 f. I S R. Vol. XIV pp. 113 f. and Ch. ha G. the p. v.
 of the *Harivamsha* 1. 30. The *Harivamsha* is in Colln. C. no. name of the temple of the
 name of the temple of Campa in Anga. And the Campa in Anga was named after the temple of the
 C. 1 and 10.

Ravi was founded at a time when Campa in Anga had ceased to exist or at least, had lost its importance

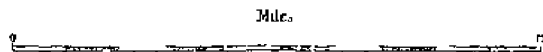
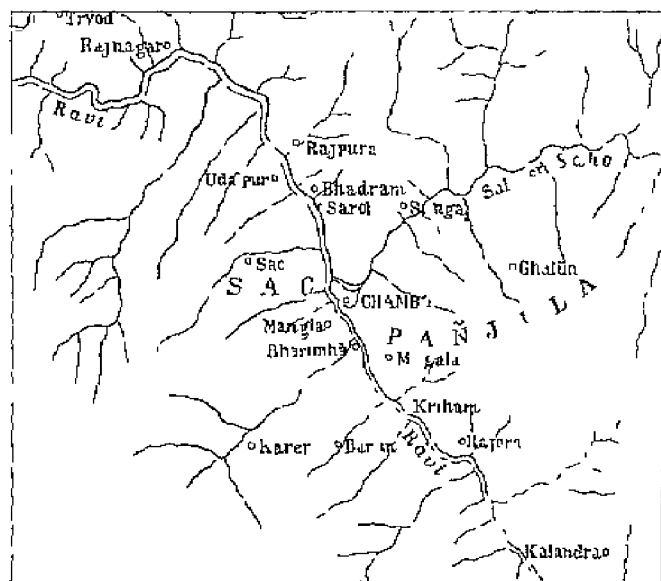


Fig 5 Section of Chambe Taluk

The copper plate grant of Somavarma and Astika is of special interest for the topography of the districts surrounding the capital. The following are the *mandalas* mentioned in that document —

1° Panchala (No 25 l 16 and 31) the modern *pa gana* of Panchala is situated immediately above Chambe city between the right bank of the Ravi and the left bank of the Sal. It contained the villages of Kuloth (unidentified), Mangala the modern Mangala 2 miles south east of Chambe, Vata now Bar 4 miles south east of Chambe, and Ghalahara, now Ghalun (map Salone) in a valley opening on the left bank of the Sal 3 miles east of Chambe. The first mentioned village was at the time of the grant, held in *jagat* by the Queen-mother Rardha.

2° Tavasala (No 25 l 17 also No 1, l 5) lies below Chambe town between the right bank of the Ravi and the right bank of the Sal. The name is probably preserved in that of the village of Tausa. The localities belonging to this *mandal* are Sumangala (No 15 l 6 also No 16 l 10) the present village of Sungal (map

¹ In a title deed (No VII l 11) of Somavarma dated Saka 27 sent on is made of a locality named Keshla.

Sunguli 2 miles above Chamba town on the right bank of the Sal Bhadravarma now Bhojram ½ miles below Chamba, and Sarahula now Sarol (map Saroli) 2 miles below Chamba. The two latter villages situated on the right bank of the Ravi belong now to the Rajnagar *parwana*. The other localities of the *Tavassala mandala* Dhirda, Futala and Laudhaki I am unable to identify. They would seem to indicate cultivated fields rather than villages.

Salramora (No 2), 11 18 21 and 29) as the name indicates, is the district situated on the other side (Sl. *para*) of the Ravi opposite Chamba town and is now known as the *Sac parwana*. The ancient designation seems to be lost. The village of Mungli (map Mungli) still known by its original name is situated on the road to Amnala by the Guari Pass. Dhirdhara another locality in this *mandala* is evidently the name of a piece of land now known as Dhuli, near Mangala between the village and the steep bank of the Ravi.

We have seen that near Chamba the Ravi receives the Sal or Saho which is mentioned in the *Pansavahi* (sl. 70) under the name of Sahlu. The Sal is formed by two streams the Mahund (to the right) and the Paroh Nala (to the left). These two streams unite near the village of Saho situated in one of the largest portions of plain country found in the State. It is the head quarters of a *parwana* of the same name. One of the most important inscriptions of Chamba (No 13) has come to light in the hamlet of Sahun on the left bank of the Sal opposite Saho. It records the foundation of a Siva temple by a local chief probably an independent Rana of the name of Sityaki. The temple referred to is perhaps the *Sarvaya* of Saho known by the name of Candrasahi (Cl. fig. 24).

From Saho down to its junction with the Ravi the Sal winds for some 8 miles along luxuriant rice and maize fields. About half way along its course it is joined on the right by the Hol stream which waters the valley of the same name. It was formerly a separate *parwana* but has now been amalgamated with that of Gudval. It seems probable that the Hol Gudval *parwana* corresponds with the Bhattara *mandala* mentioned in a copper plate of Asati (No 16). It is said that fifteen villages in that *parwana* are still indicated by the ancient name. The local goddess is known as Bhattu Devi Sitala and the pilgrimage to her shrine is called *Bhattu patra*. I am told that the inhabitants of these villages combine against other villages in the game of *chakri* (the same as *carrom*) thus preserving the tradition of their former unity as residents of the same district.

The *parwanas* of the Chamba or Sadra *wazir* at below Chamba town are 171 mgari on the right bank and Udaipuri on the left bank of the Ravi and Dhundhi (or Dhundhi) Khariot and lived in the valley of the Sirhi. The Rajnagar *parwana* as mentioned above corresponds partly at least with the ancient *Avassaka mandala*. The village of Rajnagar which is the head quarters of the *parwana* was named after Raja Raj Singh (A.D. 1761-1791). Before his time it was called

Nada Udaipur on the opposite bank received its name from Raja Uda Singh, in whose memory a small stone temple was erected after his murder on this spot in A D 1720

About 14 miles below Chamba town the Pavi is joined by its largest tributary the Syñhl (*vulgo* Seol) which brings down the entire drainage of the Cutch province. This river comes from two fountain heads. The western or main branch which drains Western Cutch rises from the Padri Pass and flows through the districts of Bhundel (map Brundel) Kihri Pich Dyuh (map Dune) and Hingai or Hingni (map Hingni). The last mentioned district is referred to by the name of Kiskindra in two of our inscriptions (Nos 12 and 13). Before the foundation of Chamba it was the seat of an independent Rana. At Muli Kihri the ancient headquarters of the Kihri *parwana* (now transferred to Digi) there are the remains of the stronghold of another Rana. This Rana as appears from an inscription of c. A D 1200 (No 34) owed allegiance to the Rajas of Chamba. The eastern branch of the Syñhl rises from the Siro Pass and flows almost due south receiving the waters of the Sar and Lachnota Nalis on the right and of the Beia (map Bana) Tiso (map Tisso) and Canja (map Chanja) Nalis on the left. The Sar, Beia and Tiso valleys constitute three *parwanas* of the same names. The Buhnota valley contains the Bahnota and Bagor (map Bagora) *parwanas*. The Canja valley the Tiso (map Jasori) and Loh Tili districts. The latter comprises the original *parwanas* of Loh Tili, Baghar (or Blaghar) and Canja. Eastern Cutch has yielded a remarkable number of fountain inscriptions especially the Loh Tili *parwana*. The lower portion of the Syñhl valley below the junction of the two branches contains the *parwanas* of Nufir (map Nafjere) Jundh (map Jund) and Bhilai (map Balai). The last mentioned district was in the 17th century a subject of dispute between Prithi Singh and Chattr Singh of Chamba and Sangram Pal of Basohli.¹

From its junction with the Syñhl the Ravi flows westwards till it reaches Jammu territory where the Siya forming the boundary, falls into it from the north. Here it trends to the south west and forms for a short distance the boundary between Chamba and the ancient State of Basohli now a district of Jammu. Its former capital of the same name lies almost opposite the point where the Ravi leaves Chamba territory.

The *wazarat* of Bhatti is often indicated by the name *Bata Bhattan* which points to its having once consisted of twelve *parwanas*. The present number of districts of this *wazarat* is ten. They are the following—Bathri or Ranpur Sharpu (map Sarpu) Nagri and Chunh (map Chune) on the left bank of the Ravi, Eubar (map Ubar) Ovari or Ovari (map Chahuri) and Rupur or Repar (map Ripu) in the Cakki valley, and Tundi Syñhla (map Sihunta) and Bhatti Jili (map Tikira) on the Dehi.

On the south side of the Dhaul Dhar Chamba State once possessed the Kihlu *daga* in which Dhamsala is situated, and that of Palam mentioned in the Barjmath

¹ The subject was decided in favour of Prithi Singh by a *surat* dated A H 1068 (A D 1648) which is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No C 1).

pas sti under the name of Pindamba. It appears that at one time Chamba territory included the ancient fort of Pithya in proximity to which the oldest inscription of the Kangra valley is found. Kumbhara the site of another somewhat later rock inscription belongs to the Rihlu *claque*. It is said that originally Rihlu and Palam formed part of Chamba State but were included in the imperial demesne created by Tudu Mall after the submission of the Punjab Hill States to Akbar. When the Mughal power collapsed Umed Singh (A.D. 1748-1764) of Chamba reoccupied the lost territory. In the reign of his son Raj Singh the great Sansu Caid of Kangra claimed Rihlu as an integral part of his dominions. Raj Singh crossed the Dhaul Dhar but was surprised by the Kangra troops and slain at Neeti (map Neutee) near Shalpur in A.D. 1794. A temple was erected on the spot where an annual *melé* takes place on the 7th Han, the date of his death. The exploits of Raj Singh are still sung in popular ballads on both sides of the Dhaul Dhar. In A.D. 1821 Rihlu was occupied by Ranjit Singh and thus finally lost to Chamba.

The other great river of Chamba is the Cnab. In the Rgveda it is mentioned under the name of Asin¹ which underlies the Greek *Akesines* (with 'Anlehnung' to the verb *eleomai*). Ptolemy calls it *Sardobal* derived from *Candrabhaga* the name by which the Cnab is known in Sanskrit literature and in inscriptions. Thus is the river preserved in the Hills. Burnell calls it Candraha but gives also the Sanskrit name Candrabhaga. In the Shalpur district it is known as *Canhur* a name evidently derived from the Sanskrit. The form *Cnab* cannot be explained as an ordinary derivative of Candrabhaga but is evidently due to a popular etymology. Moncreoff is undoubtedly correct in assuming that the name Cnab (Water of China) is based on the belief that the river took its origin in China.

In reality the Candrabhaga takes its rise from the Bualchur Pass in British Lahul by two heads the Candra and the Bhaga. Moncreoff was told that the real names were Candrabhaga and Surabhaga. The two rivers unite at Tandi and form one river of considerable size which enters Chamba Lahul at Thurot (map Inot). Here are the ruins of two forts on both sides of the Cholham Nali. The first village in Chamba territory called Sindyri or Brahmanlotha is said to have been founded by Brahmans from Kanuksetia. Here we meet with the first fountain stone carved with three conventional lotus flowers. Some five miles below Thurot the river flows past Indralathi famous for its Buddhist temple and widely renowned as a place of pilgrimage. On his march through Lahul Moncreoff fell in with two half-starved Hindu fakirs, one of whom had come from Chhapra and

The *parvata* of Pañjyār was bestowed on Raja Dill Singh by Raja Umāśūnda, the son of Raja Jai Rajan, Governor of Imlore in A.D. 1268 (A.D. 1164). It is confirmed by Raja Umāśūnda's seal of the 13th century under the seal of Alaud Zai (Dill Singh) in A.D. 1164 (A.D. 1164). Both these do not require red.

Cnabha G. R. pp. 85 B. 101 a. d. 101.

Of F. Thomas *Journal of the Indian People* Vol. I pp. 20 and 21. Moncreoff *Journal of the Indian People* Vol. I pp. 108. *Journal of the Indian People* Vol. I pp. 11. *Cnabha G. R.* pp. 85 B. 101 a. d. 101.

¹ Moncreoff *Journal of the Indian People* Vol. I pp. 108. *Journal of the Indian People* Vol. I pp. 11.

the other from Ujjain. Both were going on a pilgrimage to Tuloknath. A marble image of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is worshipped here both by Buddhists and Hindus under the name of Laloknath (Skr. *Tulokanatha* 'Lord of the three worlds'). This has now become the common appellation of the village its real name being Tunde. It is the seat of a Rana who holds the greater part of Chamb; Lahul in jagir. In 1863 nearly the whole village was swept over the precipice by an avalanche and sixty of the inhabitants lost their lives. The temple remained standing.

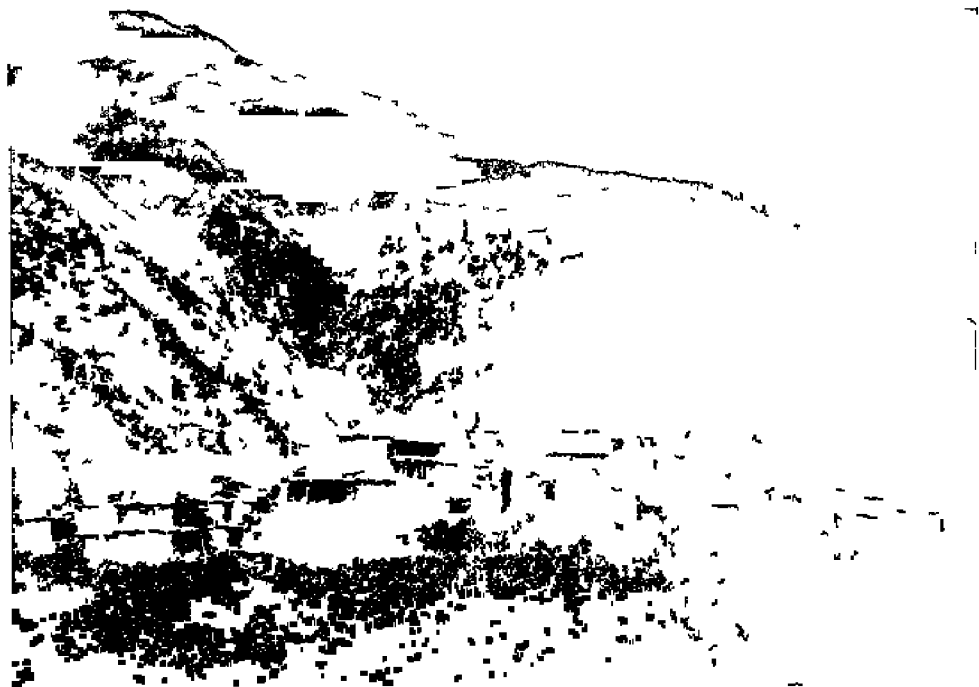


Fig. 6. Laloknath

At Udaipuri (map Odapuri) three miles below Tuloknath the Candrabhaga is augmented by the Manyar (map Manyar) which takes its rise from the Zaskas Range. The village possesses a shrine remarkable for its profuse and elaborate wood carvings. It is dedicated to Kahi locally known as Mulukh Devi or the Goddess of Marul. This is the Lahuli name of the village which was renamed Udaipuri by Raja Uday Singh of Chamba (A.D. 1690-1720). The State Kothi, founded here by the same Raja, is the only monument of Chamba rule in Lahul.

Below Udaipuri the villages are few and far between and the tract between Lahul and Saser the last place of Lahul and Saser the first village in Pangi—a distance of 17 miles—is a desolate region entirely without inhabitants. At Lorthi (map Pangi) are two fortresses of which one was constructed in the reign of Raja Ugra Singh in Sastira samvat 1 (A.D. 1725). There is also a temple of Mulukh Devi with quaint wood carvings. It bears an inscription of Raja Pithari Singh dated Sastira samvat

97 (A D 1631) At Sac (map Sacul) the Cindhabaga receives the waters of the Secu (map Sacula) and after flowing through a fairly open valley past Kalai and Dhairas (map Dhairas) enters Padra three miles below the hamlet of Laj. The villages of Sac, Kalai and Dhairas are the chief places of the three *praganas* of the same names which constitute the Pangi *taluka*. The State Kotb at Sac has an inscription in Takri recording the foundation of the building by Raja Ugar Singh of Chamla in 1721 (A D 1729). The only shrine of note in the division is the temple of Camunda at Mandhal (map Mandhal) opposite Sac. It is in possession of a copper plate issued by Raja Pthari Singh in Vikrama 1698 (Sastri 17 (A D 1641)).



FIG. 7. Temple of Camunda at Mandhal.

Round holes carved for iron stones are exceedingly numerous but only a few of them bear inscription. An inscribed foundation slab (No. 98) of the first year of Raja Jisati (A D 1105-6) is found at Tarnan in the Padra taluka. At Solhi in the Secu taluka (fig. 1) there is another stone (No. 33) of large size carved with numerous figures of deities and provided with an inscription dated in the 27th year of Raja

Jalifaruman (A.D. 1170). It is evident from this inscription that Salhi was then the seat of a Rani. His descendants still live on the spot. (Cf fig 21.)

In Lahul and Pangri we often meet with upright, plain slabs erected in memory of the dead. They are called *dhaja* (Skt. *dhvaja*, banner emblem) or *pan* (Skt. *parya*, religious merit) and may be seen on plate IV.

Though the main roads now in use are of recent origin we may assume that the lines of communication determined by the geographical system and particularly by the position of the passes have been the same ever since Chamba became inhabited. It is possible that certain roads and passes were at one time more frequented than they are at the present day and that others have now come into greater prominence, but the documents at our disposal supply but little information on this point. Considering the nature of the country there can be little doubt that no trade route of any importance ever ran through Chamba territory. Trade between India and Central Asia naturally chose the more open valleys of the Jehlam and the Bias. More especially the trade route through the Sogiana and Kulu valleys Lahul and Ladak, followed by Moorcroft must have been in use from very remote times. An indirect proof of the existence of this route in the 7th century A.D. is afforded by Hsien Tsang. After describing Jalundhara, he gives an account of Kulu to (Kuluta or Kulu) Lo u lo (Lahul) and Mo lo so (Marpo or Ladak) though apparently he did not visit these countries personally. He had evidently received his information during his stay at Jalundhara from traders who had travelled to Central Asia by this route. It is possible that occasionally owing to political influences, part of the Central Asian trade deviated from its ordinary course and followed the less accessible valleys of the Ravi and the Cmah, but under ordinary circumstances it must always have returned to its natural channels.

The roads in Chamba territory even those through the main river valleys were indeed up to very recent times of the most primitive description. (Cf fig 8.) In one of our epigraphs (No. 35) the construction of a road is stated to be the means for acquiring infinite merit. But the ancient rulers of the State have not shown great eagerness thus to provide for their bliss in the next world. They no doubt had to consider first of all the exigencies of the present and at a time when every neighbour was an enemy the difficulty of the roads constituted the best safeguard for the security of the State.

Of the roads connecting Chamba Town with the plains that by Dalhousie now in most common use dates only from the founding of that Sanitarium in A.D. 1851. The Sundhara and Ovari or Cuari roads on the contrary are no doubt ancient. The former follows the left bank of the Ravi by Bithri Sundhara and Phangoht as far down as Shabpu, from where it crosses the lower hills to Pathankot, the total distance from Chamba being about 55 miles. This road provides at the same time a direct communication between Chamba and Basohli, once the capital of the former State of that name. Vigne speaks of a second road from Chamba to Basohli along the right bank of the Ravi. From there Jammu can be reached in six marches. The stages are the following—Mahanpur (12 miles) Bhada (map Padoor 6 miles)

¹ Stronala Tale. Mr no. 10 de Houer. T'ia y Vol I pp 203 f and Be l. Seng. Vol I pp 17 f.

² Vigne Travels Vol I p 150.

Sumarta (map Sumbarta 6 miles) Rankot (formerly Mankot, 8 miles) Mansa (12 miles) and Jammu (18 miles)

This road is only a portion of the trade-route from Delhi to Kashmir through the lower hills. Forster,¹ who travelled by this road in April 1783, remarks —

It is owing to Nadir Shah's invasion of India the common road from Delhi to Kashmir, lay through Sirhind, Lahore and Heerpoor the pass of which is fully described by Mr Bernier under the name of Pamber. Since the invasion of the Persians, Afghans and the Mahrattas but especially since the period of the Sicque conquests that track has been rendered unsafe to merchants and is now almost useless. This of necessity diverted the Kashmir trade into the channel of Jumbo which being shut up as the Pamper by a strong chain of mountains difficult of access to cavalry it has been preferred to the Lahore road though the journey is tedious and the expenses of merchandise increased.

The stages where Forster halted were Plassee *i.e.*, Palasi (10 kos), Buddoo, *i.e.* Bhada (10 kos) Mancoir *i.e.*, Mankot (8 kos), Mansar *i.e.* Mansai (8 kos) and Jumbo *i.e.*, Jammu. Bisohli, Bhada and Mankot were then petty principalities dependent on Jammu.

Sumarta, half way between Bhada and Mankot, is the name of a tract of country comprising twelve villages. In the 10th century it appears to have been a hill state, the inhabitants of which are referred to in two of our copper plates (Nos. 21 and 26) under the name of Sumatika. This word appears to be derived from Sumarta which in the modern form Sumar is preserved in Sumarta.

Bador (Shi Vallapuri), the ancient capital of the Bisohli State, lies five miles north west of Bhada and is situated on the left bank of the Nag Nala at a little distance above its junction with the Blum (map Pine) river which is a tributary of the Uj. It is interesting that Baram mentions Ballavar the modern Bador on the route from Kanauj to Kashmir. We may conclude that in his time also, when the same conditions of insecurity prevailed in the plains as in the days of Forster, the route through the lower hills was largely resorted to for purposes of trade.

The Chauri road is one of the main lines of communication between Chamba and the Kangra valley—the ancient Ligurta. The road ascends the plateau opposite the town which as we have seen was known in the 11th century as the district of Paralamata and passes the village of Mangli (Shi Mangli) after which it is now commonly named. Wind- ing up the right bank of the Satru Nadi it crosses the Dharla Dhar by the Chauri Pass (height c 8000) and enters the Bhatti *nagari*. At the village of Chauri (map Chahauri) situated some nine miles beyond the pass the road bifurcates. The left branch runs south east and passing Sivalta (map Sibuntra) and the old fort of Ganasrui reaches Rikha in Kangra. On the way the Cakli, the Dehl and the Brahlui are crossed. The passage of these rivers when in flood, is attended with great difficulty. The distance from Chamba to Kangra by this road is about 54 miles.

The main road from Chauri continues in a south western direction, following for a mile the bed of the Cakli stream which has to be crossed and recrossed a dozen times. Near Jipi the road passes by the ruins of Tunga, a famous stronghold founded by Tigat Singh the Pathan chief of Nurpur and defended by him against the army of Shah Jahan in A.D. 1611-12. On one of the towers is a stone

¹ J. & Vol. I pp. 24 f. n. 1 p. 87. Cf. also Vigne *Journal* Vol. I p. 121 ff. Heerp. *et* Hurp. *et* f. n. ² Sumbarta on the left bank of the ³ black road ⁴ *cf.* *Journal* Vol. I p. 121 ff. *cf.* *Journal* Vol. I p. 121 ff.



tablet with a Tikaṃ inscription dated in the reign of Raja Raj Singh and in the year 63 (A D 1787). Half a mile beyond the road leaves Chambate territory to enter the Nurpur *tahsil*, formerly the principality of that name. At Nurpur it joins the main road to Pathan Kot, the total distance from Chambra to this place being not more than 50 miles. The Cham road is much used and must have been so from early times. The crossing of the Oakli is often perilous after heavy rain. The pass is usually under snow in January and February and sometimes also in March but even then the road is seldom closed for more than a day or two at a time.

The main road from Chambra to Bishmor follows the Ravi valley for about 20 miles as far as Pyulna. This part of the road however dates only from 1879. The old road crossed the river immediately above Chambra Town near the low plain known as Nalbot which was formerly a Muhammadan graveyard and at the present time is used as a parade ground. The bridge, which must have been of the cantilever type commonly found in the hills is still remembered under the name of *Dulu* or *Dugura sen* (Camb *sen*, Ski *setu*). Tradition holds that it was built by Dai Batlu the wetnurse of Raja Prithvi Singh, and named after her husband Duka¹. The existence of a copper plate dated Vikrama 17[0]2 Śastika 21 (A D 1746) and recording a grant of land by *Dhatru Batula Devi* on the occasion of the consecration of a bridge (*setu pratishtha samaye*) confirms the popular tradition. It is probable however that long before the days of Dai Batlu there existed a bridge on this spot. Lower down a temporary bridge connected in former times the two banks of the Ravi. It was replaced by a permanent bridge in the reign of Cansat Singh in A D 1808. Thus having collapsed the present iron suspension bridge was constructed here in A D 1895.

From the Dugura sen the road ascended the plateau of Bhamtha (map Barua) and following the hill slope along the left bank of the Ravi passed the villages of Mehla (map Mula) Bikan Basu and Pyulna each the head quarters of a *paragana* of the same name². From these places the Dhaulā Dhar can be crossed by several passes which it is unnecessary to describe. The most important is the Budm Pass (height 12 000) which leads from Basu to Shahpur by way of Tui, mentioned above as the seat of a Rani and the find place of several inscriptions. Another road which starts from Basu crosses the Dhaulā Dhar by the Kamkot Pass (map Bown Pass height 11 602) and reaches Bahlu in the Kangra District. The place where this road surmounts the range is a narrow gorge known as Pichlā galā (Gate neck). Here an ancient rock inscription is found which indicates that this road was used about the 9th century of our era. The word *galā* as well as its diminutives *galā* and *galu* denote a narrow passage leading over a spur or mountain ridge. Its original meaning is 'throat neck' (Ski *gala*). We may compare French Swiss *col* and Cape Dutch *nek* the term used in the Punjab Hills to designate a mountain pass is *got* the original meaning of which seems to be 'yoke' (Ski root *gag-*). It is interesting to compare the German Swiss *joek* and the Italian *giogo* in the meaning of which we note the same transition.

From Pyulna the new road through the valley reverts to the old line which ascends the slope to reach Chatraishi. The antiquity of this place is attested by the

¹ According to others the bridge was named *Dhatru sen* after the lady herself.

² From Mehla onwards the road still in existence and has lately been repaired by the Forest Department.

Devi temple of Veru vaimva referred to above. From Chatrauli the road drops into the Cunda Nala and ascends the opposite slope to Kothi which was once the seat of a Rana and is therefore known as Ranhum Kothi the word *ranhum* designating a barony ruled by a Rana. From here a branch road crosses the Gurghu Pass (height c. 10,000) to Cinhati and runs up the Ravi valley through Tichu and Bari Bhangsi to Bari Bhangul. The Dhruva Dhr is crossed from Ranhum Kothi by the Ghajlajot (height 13,220) by which Bhagsu Dhruvula can be reached in two or three days. The road is a difficult footpath which follows the Ghathora Nala.

The main road rises from Ranhum Kothi to cross the Sadali Naga (height c. 9,000) and descends again by Ulasa (map Ulasa). Ulasa, as well as the adjoining villages of Gunda and Svan on the left bank of the Ravi, are the seats of three Rana feudatories of the Raja of Chamba. (Cf fig. 20). Beyond Ulasa the Ravi is crossed by a wooden bridge. Ascending the opposite slope it reaches Khani (map Kani) situated at a height of 6,146 on the end of the spur which forms the watershed between the Ravi and the Budhal. In the oldest copper-plate grant found in Chamba State (No. 14) mention is made of the Khani hospice (*Skimatha*) which not only proves the existence of the village as far back as the 10th century but also shows that even then it was a place on the main road and was visited by travellers. From Khani a branch road passes up the right bank of the Ravi valley by Gama—a village mentioned under the same name in the title deed just referred to—and joins the road on the left bank not far from Kulat, the ancient Kulikagostha, in Tichu. Another branch crosses the Budhal river and following the Tundah Nala crosses the Kalcho Pass (height 16,402) to Tuloknath in Chamba Lahul.

The main road proceeds along the left bank of the Budhal to Brahmor, the ancient capital. About a mile before reaching this place a rock inscription in the Tibetan character will be noticed on the road side. Carved on the same stone are three figures of Ganesa, Siva, and Devi. (Cf figs. 29 and 30). At the village of Ghosan, on the left bank of the Budhal beneath Brahmor, some Tibetan rock-inscriptions are found but these consist only of mystic formulas.

The Budhal valley is connected with Lahul by two roads. From Brahmor one road crosses the Cobu Pass (height 16,720) which perhaps owes its name to its elevations (*coba*) and reaches the Candrabhaga valley above Triloknath. The other and more frequented road follows the left bank of the Budhal to Haisar (map Haiser, height 6,650), which possesses a small Siva temple with an inscribed image which perhaps accounts for the name of the place (*Haisa* = *Siva*). Here a short branch road runs up to the sacred lake of Manimahes, regarded by popular belief as the main source of the Ravi. The main road crosses the Budhal and proceeds up its right bank to Kulati village and thence over the Kukti Pass (height 17,001) to Yobiang (map Jobrung) in British Lahul, where the Candrabhaga is crossed by means of a *ghula* or rope bridge.² Another branch road leaves the main road at Kulati village to cross the Manimahes Range into Bari Bhangul.

Chamba is connected with Brahmor by a second ancient road which runs through the mountains to the north of the Ravi. After ascending the Saho valley for 4 miles, it crosses the stream and surmounts the Jamvai ridge. It then descends and passes

¹ This *ghat* forms the boundary between the Pabbar and Ranhum Kothi *parganas*.
Also called *B. g.* and *B. h. g.*

² For a description of this cf *Chamba* p. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

the villages of Lalh Gum and Belj and after crossing the Tundah Dhar and the Tundehn Nala follows the mountain slope on the right bank of the Budhal to Bilhmer. The only place of antiquarian interest on this road is Gum. It was in the days of Meru varman (c. A.D. 700) the seat of a chieftain who owed allegiance to the ruler of Bhahmoi. From an inscription on a *linga* stand found here it appears that the ancient name of the place was Sivapuri. The large number of stone *lingas* may account for this name. On the river bank beneath Gum there is still a sanctuary of Siva known as Tilcan Mahadev (Sk. *Tilocana mahadeva* 'the three-eyed great god') where an annual *melu* takes place on the Dugastami in the month of Bhadon. In the Panth Nala not far from Gum are some rock inscriptions (Nos. 1 & 2) the oldest epigraphs hitherto discovered in Chamba State. It is curious that one of them consists of an invocation to Siva.



Fig. 8. Sarg-dhar.

Another important road which connects Chamba with Bhadravah and Pangri starts from the northern end of the town and after crossing the Sala stream descends to the right bank of the Ravi. This road is also greatly modernized but the old path may still be seen which, roughly paved zigzags down the steep hill slope¹. At the point where it

¹ Fig. 8 shows the modern road along with the ancient path which leads to the burning *ghat* (Sk. *Smastana*) situated at the junction of the Ravi and Salorn rivers and which is popularly named *Sarg-dhar* 'the Gate of Heaven'.

descends from the northern end of the plateau on which the town stands, there is a stone platform (*cabutra*) with an inscription which records that Sundara dasa the son of Vira-dasa the son of Bhagiratha dasa, for the love of Lalima Vira-vara planted a *pipal* tree (*Shikavattika* *Ficus religiosa*) here and had a platform made so that all creatures might take a rest in its shade. The date of the inscription is Vikrama 1717 Saka 1582 Sastika 36, Vaisakha *va* di 13 Wednesday at the Vernal Equinox i.e. the 20th March 1661.¹ When Cunningham visited Chamba the *pipal* had been replaced by a very large *ton* tree (*Ocotelea toona*) which in its turn has now disappeared. Only recently a new *pipal* tree has been planted which it is hoped will afford shelter against the heat of the sun to many a traveller. The old road notwithstanding its steepness is still preferred by the hill people to the new one and Sundara Das' *cabutra* must be a welcome resting place to weary wayfarers.

At a distance of 2 miles from the town the road passes through the ancient garden of Sarol (map Saroli). This village as we have seen is mentioned under the name *Saravala* in a title deed of the 11th century. The garden with its pond is referred to in a charter issued by Raja Balabhadra in favour of his *pradhana* Isvara in 1650 and dated Sastika 75 Vikrama 1956 (A.D. 1699). The tank has lately been renewed. A mile further on the village of Bhadram is passed. Its ancient name was Bhadravama as appears from the same title deed in which Saravala is mentioned. In the 11th century both villages belonged to the Tavasika district which evidently consisted of the tract between the right bank of the Ravi and the right bank of the Sala as it included also the village of Sungal then called Sumangala on the right bank of the Sala, 2 miles from Chamba. At present Bhadram and Sarol belong to the Rajnagar *paragana* but it is possible that the ancient name of the district is preserved in that of the village Tausa (map Tosa), situated on the spur between the Ravi and the Sala valleys. It would seem however that at the time of the inscription Bhadravarma was the head quarters of the district as it contained the State granary (*losthagana*) in which the revenue in kind was collected and from which 1 *labani* of grain was granted annually to a Vishnu temple founded by a certain Pisata.

Before reaching Rajnagar the head quarters of the modern district of the same name the road leaves the main valley and ascends a side valley to Pukhi (map Puker) perched on the watershed between the Ravi and the Syñhl. At this point the roads to Bhadravah and Pangri bifurcate. The Bhadravah branch descends through a narrow ravine to the Syñhl which it crosses. It then runs up its right bank to Mājga (map Mangere). Subsequently it rapidly rises to cross the ridge between the upper and lower reaches of the Syñhl and regaining the right bank of the river follows it for a short distance. After having crossed again to the left bank the road pursues its course to Bhūmal (map Bhūmal, height 5675) and Langeia (height 6978). At a distance of 3½ miles south of the former place, on the ridge which here forms the boundary between Chamba and Basohli we notice the ruins of the old fort of Prthvijor (*gori* from *Prasara* *gori* *force*) founded by Raja Pithu Singh after whom it is named. From Langeia the road crosses the Padri Pass (height c. 10,000)

¹ Cf. Cunningham *As. Res.* Vol. XXV, p. 126. Kellison *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX (1891) p. 122 and *loc. cit.* G. H. p. 57.

² Recently made and runs from the old bridge over the Syñhl to Salūn on the ridge above Mangr and beyond, crosses the Syñhl at Palab ilge and runs on to Bhūmal.

and enters Bhadravah territory. The distance between the towns of Chamba and Bhadravah is 64 miles. From Bhadravah, Islamabad (the ancient Anantnaga) in the Kashmir valley can be reached by way of Kastwar the ancient Kasthanata.

The Pangl road which we left at Pukhri ascends from there to Musruud and then continues due north through the main valley of Eastern Cutch passing the villages of Kalhel Tisa Beri and Alvas. From Alvas it crosses the Sic Pass (height 14,325) to Kilur in Pangl. Two branch roads run up the side valleys to reach the Cindhabhigi valley by less frequented passes. One follows the right bank of the Caggu Nala and passes Loh Pkhi and Baghai from where Pindri in Lohal can be reached either by the Dhati Pass (height c. 15,000) or by the Muroa or Carara Pass (map Chara Pass, height 14,320). Both these passes are difficult and very precipitous on the Cutch side. The Dhati ('the Sickle') especially is dreaded on account of its stone avalanches. There is a direct road between Chamba and Caggu through the Hol valley.

Road to Pangl

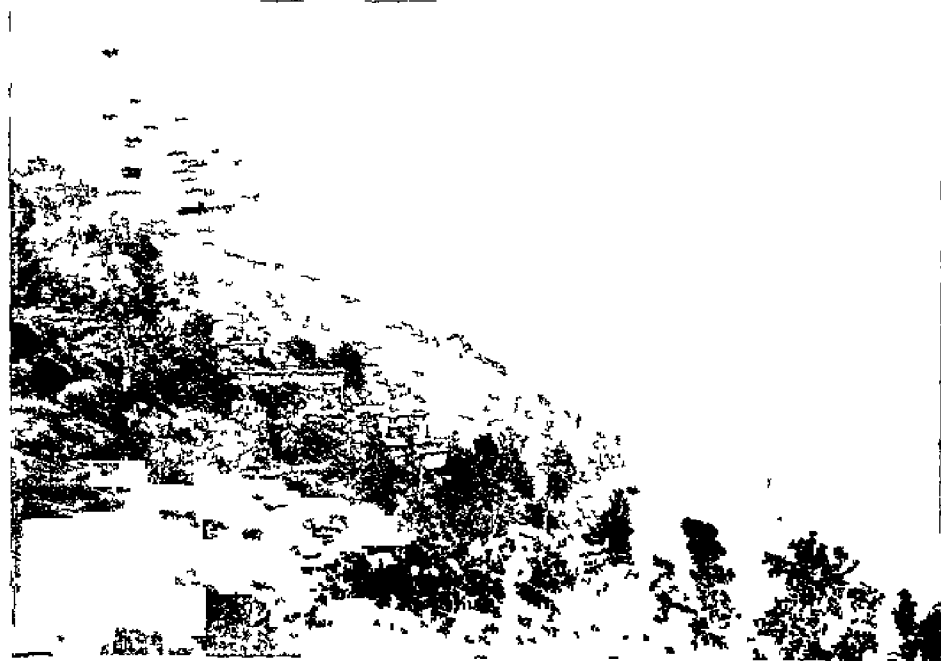


Fig. 9. Dhati Pass

The second side road runs up the Beri Nala to Hual and passes Devru both once the seat of a Raja the ruins of whose castle are still extant (cf fig 18). One of the finest Sanskrit inscriptions in Chamba was found here. From Hual the road crosses the Oera (map Chara) Pass (height 14,299) to Mundhal opposite Sic. It is said that this pass was closed by Pithari Singh on his return from Kulu. It appears to have been more frequented at one time than it is at present. It is perhaps explains why the pass leading to Kilur is inappropriately called the Sic Pass.

A third branch leaves the main road a little beyond Tisa and runs by Sar Bagon and Buhnota to the Dargam Dhar which it crosses by the Makin or Bani Pass (height circa 12,100) to Bales, a hill tract included in Bhadravah. Sar possesses an important fountain inscription (No 30).

The main road in Lhal and Pangri follows the Candhabhaga valley throughout and must have done so from the time that a road has existed. Though improved in parts it is still taken as a whole, of the most primitive description. In places it is carried from ledge to ledge by means of narrow wooden bridges of very insecure character, locally known by the name of *trai gari*.

After entering Chamba territory at Thnot (map Thnot), it follows the right bank of the river. As far down as the Udaipuri plain the valley is fairly open and the road therefore comparatively easy. From Margiam (map Margiam height 5755) to Salgiam (map Salgiam)¹ it runs for the most part along the face of the cliffs. It crosses over to the left bank at Salgiam and continues on this side as far down as Sac (map Such) in Pangri. The old road however, crosses to Sam (map Saa) on the right bank (some 10 miles above Sac) where a rope bridge or *phula* connects the two river banks. From Potha (map Putha 4 miles below Sam), this road ascends to Reh (*reh*=mountain ridge) and from there drops down to the Sreu Nala which it crosses to Sac (height 7886).

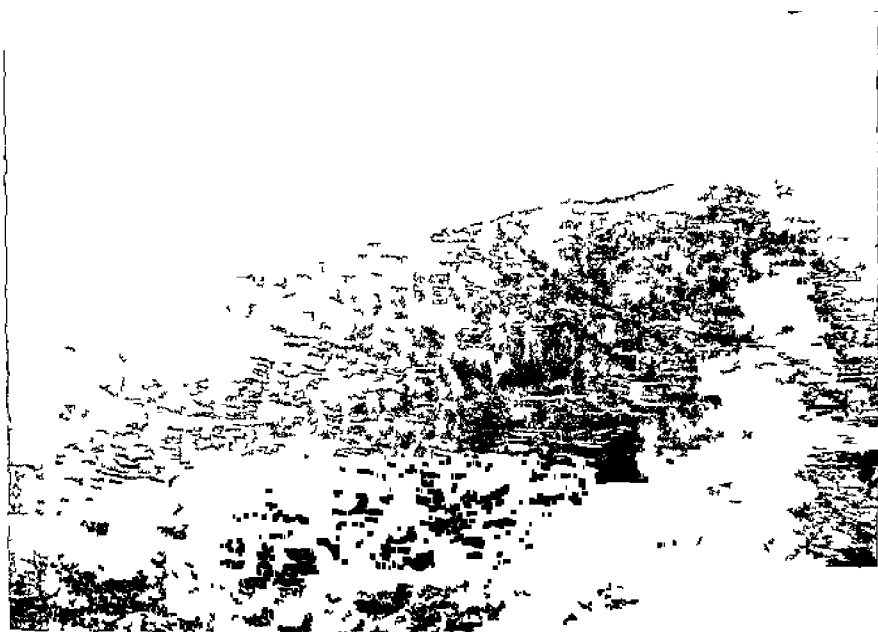


FIG 10. Lhal and Pangri

Below Sac the valley is more open and the road fairly level. For a distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile between Sac and Khar it is carried along the face of the precipice on crowbars fixed horizontally into the rock. This work was carried out by the Forest Department about A.D. 1870. The old road which is still extant used to lead over the shoulder of the cliff by almost perpendicular wooden steps. A little farther down near the village of Phindru (map Phindru) the path has been partly hewn out of the solid rock. This was probably done in the reign of Raja Prithvi Singh as appears from a rock inscription containing the name of that chief and dated Sastia 18 corresponding to A.D. 1612-3. From Khar the road continues along the right bank at a fairly high level to Bhawras and Luj and at the Sansari Nala it leaves Chamba territory to enter Padar.

¹ In the Lhal led at these villages are called Nana and Fago.

Another ancient route connecting Lahul and Pangi leads up the Maryai Nala from Maikula (Udupuu) and, after crossing the Ghor Dhan (map Gurdhan) Pass, descends by the Secu Nala (fig 1) to the Candrabhaga valley which it rejoins at Sic. This road, notwithstanding the height of the pass is said to be shorter and easier than that which follows the Candrabhaga. It is practicable for hill ponies, a circumstance which perhaps accounts for the name of the pass. Starting from Maikula, the stages are Cimat, Maryai (map Maryai, height 10,215), Singharah, Batoi (map Bataoi, height 11,638), Secu (map Suchu, height 8,412), and Sic (map Sauch, height 7,886). An inscribed fountain stone found at Salhi (map Saui) 3 miles below Secu has been noticed above. From Sic, Kilai and Dharvis roads lead into Zangskai.

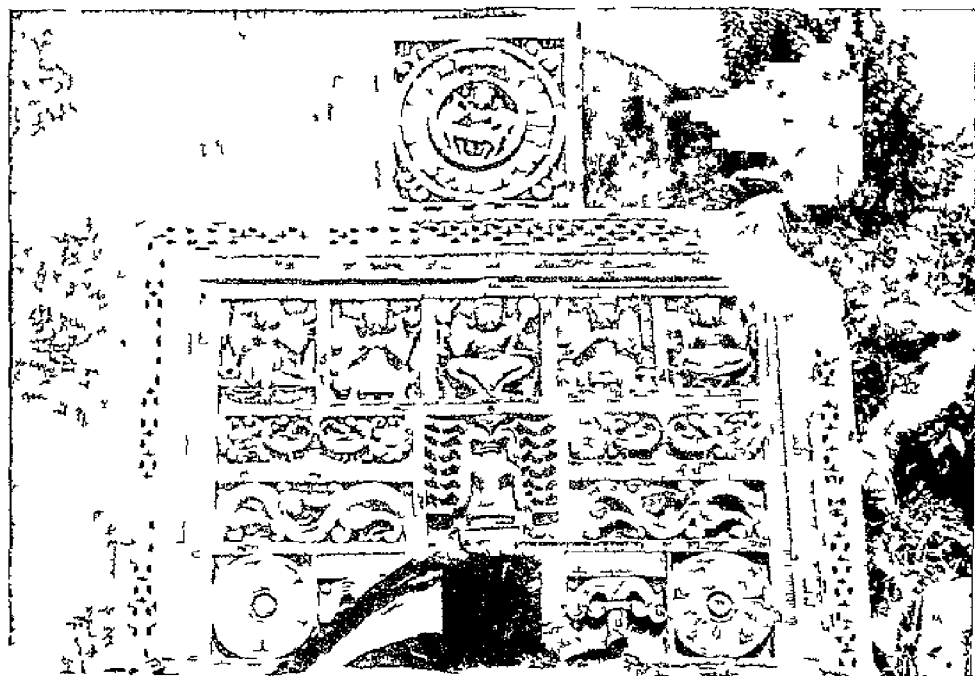


Fig. 11. Tep Lou t n Stone

CHAPTER II—THE INSCRIPTIONS

The number of the inscriptions found in Chamba State is not less remarkable than their variety. Whereas in Kashmir, Kangra and Kulu states of much greater antiquity and historical importance only a very limited number of epigraphical records have been found Chamla has yielded no less than 130 inscriptions excluding those of the last two and a half centuries. This wealth of inscriptions within an area of only 3,216 square miles of which the greater part is uninhabitable is entirely due to its secluded position and may convey some idea of the amount of historical material which has been lost in other more accessible districts both in the Hills and the Plains. We know that in the 12th century there existed in Kashmir extensive inscriptions on stone and tile deeds on copper which were consulted by Kalhana while composing his famous *Chronicle*. By examining the inscriptions, says that author, recording the consecration of temples (*pradistha sasana*) and grants (*vasuvasa*) by former kings at the ludatory inscriptions (*prasaasti patta*) and at written

works the trouble arising from many errors has been overcome. There existed, moreover, numerous images of stone and metal, many of which, no doubt bore dedicatory inscriptions. Kalhana,¹ relates how in the reign of the great Lalita-ditya two images were discovered which (as the letters engraved on the bases showed) had been made by Rama and Laasmana. This record, though legendary shows that inscribed images were not unknown in Kalhana's days.

In Kashmir not a single copper plate has been discovered, and of stone inscriptions only a few insignificant fragments. 'Of the first class of documents (*prati-shasanas*) Dr. Stein remarks only a small number of specimens has been found in Kashmir and none of them except a fragmentary inscription of the time of Queen Didda now in the Lahore Museum can be ascribed with certainty to a period earlier than Kalhana. No inscription of the kind described under II and III (*vastusana* and *prastapatta*) has come to my knowledge in Kashmir. At Baboi the ancient Babbapura the capital of a hill state dependent on Kashmir I noticed in 1906 an extensive Sarda inscription inside a ruined temple. It is probably a *prasasti* but it is too much defaced to be deciphered.

Kangra and Kulu both situated on the ancient trade route between India and Central Asia have been scarcely more fortunate. It is true that Kangra, the ancient Trigarta has yielded two very ancient rock inscriptions and the important *prasastis* of Rajnathi, but considering that Chamba possesses no less than fifty epigraphs of the pre-Muhammadan period those of its powerful neighbour are extremely scanty. On the borders of Kulu one of the most ancient of the Panjab Hill States an inscription of the Gupta period has come to light. It is the rock inscription of Salamu in Mandi territory. The other inscriptions found in that district do not date further back than the middle of the 16th century A.D. The oldest copper-plate is that issued by Bahadur Singh which is preserved in Chamba and is dated [*Śastrajamvat* 35 corresponding to A.D. 1559]. It is not at all improbable that continued research and excavation of ancient sites will bring to light additional material but we can hardly expect as rich a harvest as even without resorting to excavation the Hill State of Chamba has yielded in a few summers' exploration.

The total number of inscriptions collected in Chamba amounts to one hundred and thirty of which fifty are of the pre-Muhammadan period, and eighty of the Muhammadan period.

From the objects on which they are incised these records may be divided into rock inscriptions, slab inscriptions, image inscriptions and copper plate inscriptions. Another classification according to their contents, is that quoted from Kalhana

¹ *Rajat* IV 2 2-2nd G. transl. Stein Vol I p 118.

Note at *Rajat* I 10.

² Cf. *A. R. A. S.* 1903-04 pp 261 2nd. On p 260 the date is erroneously stated to be 1659 the spelling *Kuflu* is to be abandoned.

rit, records of consecration (*Śkī pratistha śasana*) title deeds (*Śkī vastu śasana*)¹ and eulogies (*Śkī prasasti-paṭṭa*). Among these the title deeds are usually engraved on copper plates and the eulogies are mostly cut on stone slabs. Stone is used for inscriptions of the first kind also, except when the consecrated object is an image of metal.

Rock inscriptions are not so numerous in Chamba as the abundance of the material would lead one to expect. But some of the most ancient epigraphs in the State belong to this class—namely, those of Parah Nala (No. 14), Tun (No. 10) and Pihliagaṇa (No. 11). It may be noted that the Kanhiṇa and Pathyan rock inscriptions—the two oldest records of the Kangra district—were once situated in Chamba territory. But as they date back to a time far anterior to the founding of the Chamba State I have not thought it necessary to include them in the present volume.² The rock inscriptions found within the present boundaries of the State are mostly brief records cut on the rock in bold but badly shaped letters and consequently not always easy to decipher. To this class belong a few Tibetan records found in the neighbourhood of Bishmor and to be noted more fully hereafter (No. 50).

Among the image inscriptions the most important are those of Meru varman (c. A.D. 700) incised on brass statues at Bishmor and Chattrahm. Large sized metal images of so early a date are extremely rare in India as such objects were the first to attract the destructive zeal of iconoclasts and the cupidity of unscrupulous kings. The numerous idols of gold, silver and other metals set up by the magnificent Lalitaditya were destroyed more than two centuries before the Moslems established their rule in the Kashmir valley. It was King Harsa that Torushka or Kalhana calls him who partly from greed and partly from perverseness caused those relics of his great predecessor to be overthrown and desecrated and for this purpose appointed a special official called 'perfect for the destruction of gods' (*Śkī devotpatāṇaṇāyaka*)³. Only two Hindu images escaped—that of Rāvasarmā at Simasari and that of Maitradī, the Sun god—and two colossal Buddhas one of which stood at Parikṣa-pura. The contemporaneous images of Meru varman convey to us an idea of the style of those famous statues of Lalitaditya in which Kalhana bestows so much praise.⁴ Cunningham, who visited Bishmor in 1839 remarks that these images had never been seen by Hindu monarchs until his servants arrived there. It will however be noticed in the course of a more detailed discussion of the inscriptions that two of the Bishmor images have suffered damage at the hands of some foreign probably non-Muhammudan invader.

Inscribed metal statuettes of a much later date are those of Śiva at Haragar and of Vāraṇa Devī in Chamba-Lahul. In each case the inscription records the conse-

¹ A title-deed recording a grant to a village or to a Brahmin is called *agratara śasana*. See below p. 107.

² Cf. *Exp. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 116-119.

³ *Rajast.* VII, 1091-1093; transl. Stein, Vol. I, pp. 332 f.

⁴ No. 11, 121-127; transl. Stein, Vol. I, pp. 130-144.

ciation of the image, and sometimes also of the temple in which it was placed, and therefore belongs to Kalhana's first class of *pratistha-varanas*.

We possess but few specimens of inscribed stone images. The oldest is probably the image of Devi erected by Rana Bhogata of Kiskindha, the modern Himgar (No 12). Next in date come the Devi image of Tui with an almost obliterated inscription (No 19) and the Vishnu statuette of Saho of which the epigraph is also partly destroyed (No 47). The Narayana image of Devinalothi, though itself much defaced, bears a well-preserved inscription. It is the only one of which the date can be approximately fixed. In this class are also to be reckoned the other two Tui inscriptions (Nos 17 and 18) cut on stone strads which evidently once belonged to idols, and the Gum inscription (No 9) cut on a squared stone which must have supported a *linga*.

Inscriptions on stone slabs are either records of consecration or eulogies. Very often the two are combined, as in the Saabhan *prasasti* (No 13) which was primarily intended to record the consecration of a Siva temple, but the greater part of which is devoted to the praise of the founder's spouse, Somaprabha. It may rightly be called a love poem carved in stone. Likewise the Devinalothi and Mul-Kidari fountain inscriptions (Nos 32 and 34) are at the same time *prasastis*, as they contain a flattering account of the pious donors and their relatives. The poet of the former seems actually to designate his composition by that name. These laudatory inscriptions, apart from their historical value, are documents of literary interest as they are composed throughout in elegant Sanskrit poetry. Among the *prasastis* found in Chamba only that of Saabhan is complete. Outside Chamba, I may mention the two *prasastis* of Bagnath and that of Bhavan in Kangra, besides the Tribaknath one in Mandi town. These all record the foundation of temples in which they are still preserved. A record of consecration of a peculiar kind is the platform (*caubuta*) inscription of Chamba City, which states that a pipal tree (*Ska asvattha*) was planted and a platform built by a certain Brahman, on Wednesday, the 28th March A.D. 1669¹.

A very important subdivision of this class are the large curved fountain slabs. These are very numerous in certain parts of Chamba, and apparently peculiar to that State. The only place outside Chamba where I have met with stones of this kind is Sisu on the Gandra river in British Lahul. These were first noticed by the traveller Moorcroft on his ill-fated journey to Bukhara. "Between the first and second village of Sisu" that author² relates "we crossed the Sisu river, a narrow torrent rushing down with a force which must wear away the most compact rock. Growing near it was the variety of currant which I had observed at Niti. On the summit of the ascent from the water a flat stone, sculptured with figures and flowers, was set up on the right of the path." Mr. A. H. Francke informs me that in other villages of British Lahul also

¹ Cf. above p. 52.

² Moorcroft *Travels* Vol. I p. 194.

similar slabs are found but no inscribed specimen has hitherto come to light outside



Fig 1. Balmukot Fountain stone

Chamba. On entering Chamba from Bafal Lalul a specimen may be seen at Balmukoti (map Bamanoti local name Sindvari) the first village in State territory. At Ladolnath the famous Buddhist place of pilgrimage in Chamba Lalul there are several of these slabs but none of them bears an inscription. The best example is found at Oñar 7 miles east of the *caravan*. They are very frequently met with in *Naarai Pangi* especially round Kila and are sometimes collected in considerable numbers on one spot (plate IV). Two inscribed stones of particular interest are found in this province one at Silli in the Secu valley and the other at Luy. The latter place is situated close to the Padda border. In Padda itself however carved fountain slabs of this type do not occur nor as far as I know in any other tracts lower down the Candrabhaga river. In the valleys of the Jehlam Bias and Satluj such slabs seem to be wholly unknown.

In Gurah the north western province of Chamba watered by the Syuhl river such stones are exceedingly numerous. Of particular interest are those of Sar Nagra and Dadvar all of which are inscribed. The Loh Tikri *pargana* is richest of all in fountain inscriptions but unfortunately hardly any of them are complete.

In the Ravi valley proper fountain stones are found at many places from Bialmor down to Keri (map Keri) but they are of much smaller size than those of Gurah and Pangi and do not bear inscriptions. One often finds several erected at one spring for instance at Chatahar and at Bichi in the Basu *pargana*. At the latter place there are four slabs placed side by side which are locally believed to have

Fountain Stones near Kilar (Pangi)



been made for the use of ten different castes the Ranas the Rathis the potters and the carpenters. At Lagu and other villages in the same *parwana* isolated stones may be seen (fig. 13). At Lidu 4 miles from the town on the road to Jumvai no less than nine slabs of various sizes were found at one spring they have all been placed in the State Museum (Cat. Nos. A. 19-27). In the city itself a broken fountain stone was unearthed in the summer of 1906 and has likewise been deposited in the Museum (Cat. No. A. 18).

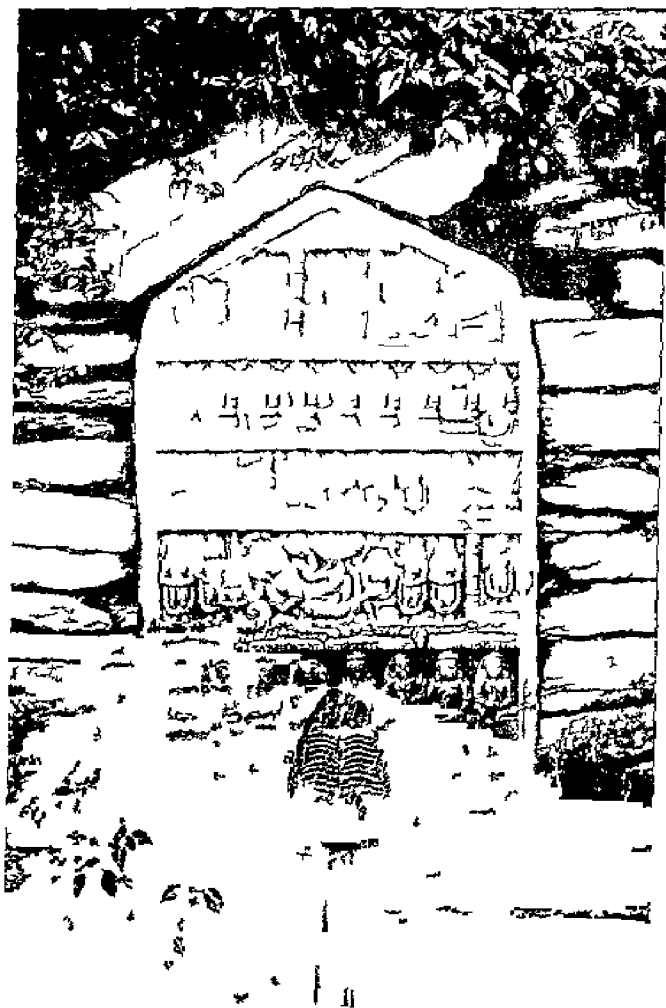


Fig. 13. Fountain Tapa-ga-Ba.)

The fountain slabs of the Ravi valley are usually carved with numerous rows of figures. Among these we find Vishnu sleeping on the serpent Bhasa, Lakshmi holding his feet, and the four-faced Brahma seated on a lotus rising from Vishnu's navel. As the sleep of the Sun god takes place in the rainy season the scene is very appropriately chosen. Other common subjects are the nine *Grahas* (also frequently carved over the entrance of temples) and the ten *avatars* or incarnations of Vishnu.

The figures in the lower rows which are shown in the act of worshipping the *linga* probably represent the donors of the sculptures.

On the large slabs of Pangi and Omh also we find commonly the upper portion occupied by rows of figures both of deities and mortals. Among the former Varuna the god of the waters in whose honour the stone was erected, takes a prominent place. On the Silhi stone (plate XXXI) we find Śiva in the centre of the upper row between Varuna, Indra, Gaṇeś and Karttikeya, each seated on his particular *raśi* and marked with an inscription. In the middle of the slab is a representation of Viṣṇu's sleep—a subject which as just noted regularly occurs on the fountain stones of the Ravi valley. The rest of the Silhi stone is occupied by eight female figures personifying the great rivers of Northern India. The name of each river is inscribed on the water vessel which the figure holds in one hand.

At Śu also (plate XXXIV) each of the figures is named, but here only the upper row consists of divinities, the lower portion being reserved for human beings. Among the latter we find the person portrayed for the sake of whose bliss the stone was set up. On the Naghu slab deities are apparently mixed with mortals, but here the figures are not marked with their names. It is possible that one of the figures represents the Rām Mikhali who is mentioned in the inscription. On the stones, which judging from their inferior workmanship, belong to a later date we find Varuna still occupying his place of honour, but for the rest such stones are carved with clumsy figures of armed horsemen, archers, swordsmen and female water carriers. Examples of this kind are the Bihundi and Nal stones in the Chambā Museum (Cat. Nos. A 12 and 17), both of which bear fragmentary inscriptions.

On most fountain slabs we find besides figures, a fair amount of ornamental carvings. Among these the eight petalled lotus rosette is most prominent. On each side of the square hole intended to receive the water spout there is often a dwarf pilaster of very curious design. The rows of figures are frequently separated by bands of ornamental scrollwork and the whole of the carvings are usually enclosed within leaf and rope borders.

Among the fountain sculptures of Chamba State there are several which do not contain any figures but are purely decorative. Usually the surface is divided into square panels each provided with a conventional lotus. I am inclined to think that slabs of this type are the earliest in date, but the inscriptions do not as yet enable us to class them chronologically. Among the three dated in the reign of Trailokyadeva which belong to the first half of the 11th century, that of Bhakund is a plain slab with no carvings at all and that of Dadru has no other figure than Varuna, the rest of the carvings being decorative. The third one is that of Naghai, where the greater part of the carving is also decorative, though here we find a row of five figures, Varuna occupying the centre. The fountain slab of Siya, erected in the year of Jasata's accession (c. A.D. 1070) is carved with decorative bands, and does not bear any figures except the effigy of Varuna and a pair of interlaced buds. On the Luj stone of the first year of Jasata (A.D. 1106), we find a wellnigh equal division of figures and decorative devices. Among the former we notice the horseman who regularly appears on the fountain slabs of a more decadent and presumably later type. That of Loh Tikri, also of Jasata's reign, has only a lotus rosette and decorative

borderis On the two specimens of the reign of Lalita-varman—those of Salhi and Sai¹ described above which belong to the second half of the 12th century—the figures are decidedly more prominent On that of Salhi even the ornamental borders are absent It would therefore seem that there has been a gradual development from plain stones with simple conventional lotus flowers to the elaborate slabs crowded with figures We must however, assume that the nature of the carvings was largely dependent on the individual taste of the donor and the sculptor as well as on the former's means and on the latter's ability

It is noteworthy that in general the purely decorative carvings are executed with considerably greater skill than the figures, which are conspicuous chiefly for their clumsy appearance rigid attitude and want of proportion For this reason the specimens which bear exclusively decorative carvings are from an artistic point of view the most satisfactory

While the slabs bear inscriptions these are either incised on the raised run running horizontally between the rows of figures and decorative bands or cut on one or two plain rectangular panels placed in the centre or at the two ends of the slab The latter is mostly the case with those found in the neighbourhood of Loh-Tilli in the Canju valley

The slabs here described are commonly set up against the steep hill slope at places where water flows down or gushes forth from the rock A stone spout some times ornamentally carved is fixed in a square opening in the centre of the stone to allow the water to flow through In some instances we find in front of the large slab a cistern built with three smaller stones likewise adorned with carvings This must have been the case at Luj Salhi and Naghan where the enclosing stones are still extant and partly *in situ*

As to the purpose of these fountain slabs the inscriptions leave no doubt that the erection was looked upon less as a work of general utility than as a meritorious act designed to secure future bliss to the founder and his relatives The person for whose sake the stone was set up, either a deceased wife or husband is often mentioned by name in the inscription Thus the Naghan stone was erected for the sake of the bliss in the next world of Ravi Mekhala that of Sai for the sake of Ranwari Phala In other fountain inscriptions of the Curah *wazari* the donor states that he erected the stone leaving with the fear of mundane existence (Skr *samsara bhaya bhutena*) The slab itself is invariably designated as a Varuna deva i.e. a god Varuna¹ for the obvious reason that Varuna the patron of the waters is usually carved on it This name is no longer remembered In Lahul stones of this kind we know as now (probably the same as Pahari *naun* in Pangl they are indicated by the name of *naun* In the Ravi valley they do not seem to have any special appellation except that of *panhryar* a name commonly applied to all fountains whether they are provided with carved slabs or not

Not does there seem to exist any certain tradition regarding their origin, date and purpose. Sometimes they are connected with the Nagas. At Kuns above Kala there are two fine springs known as Baisai Na, and Nagam. At both fountain stones have been erected some of which show traces of inscriptions. Those at Tilok Nath in Lhal are locally asserted to have been set up in honour of the Naga. In epigraphs have no mention whatever is made of these demi gods so prominent in the popular religion of the Hills. Sometimes these huge stones with their quaint figures and mysterious characters unintelligible even to the learned Pandit—are looked upon with superstitious dread and the villagers are often reluctant to give information regarding their whereabouts for fear that some evil may spring from it.

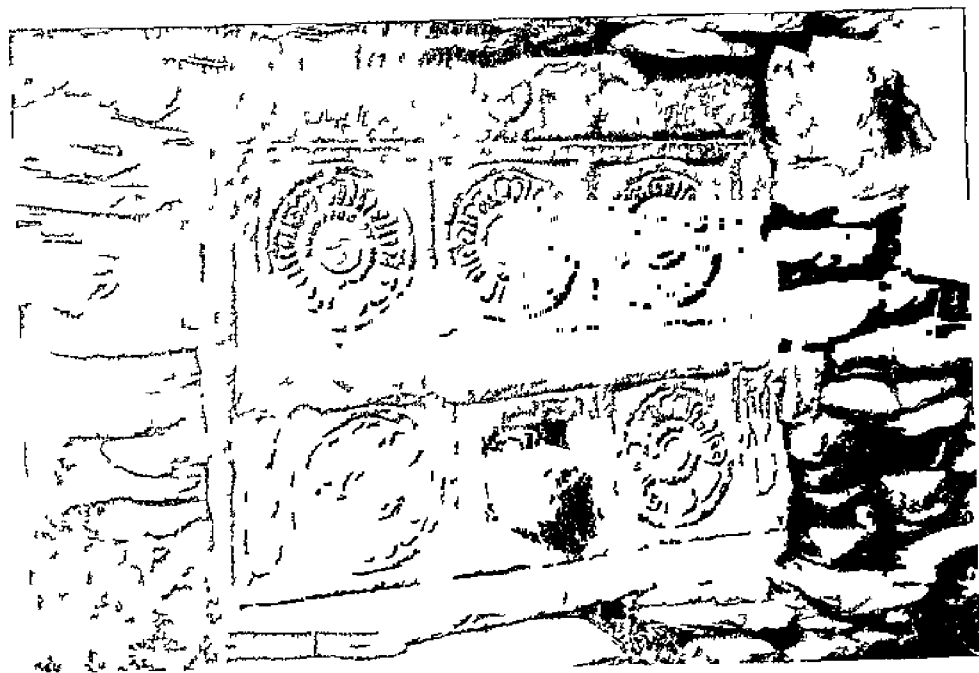


Fig 14 Fountain at Kuns above Kala

It is therefore the more gratifying that the stones themselves readily yield us their forgotten history. Most of them belong to a time when Curah and Pangri were inhabited by numerous petty chieftains or Ranas dependent on the Raja of Chamba. It was they who erected these slabs on which their names and those of their father and grandfather are usually recorded together with that of the Raja to whom they owed allegiance. We may therefore assume that at most places where fountain slabs occur there once stood the stronghold of a Rana. I must add that our inscriptions show a few instances of such stones having been erected by Brahmins but these are of a less elaborate type. One that of Bhakind bears merely an inscription without any carvings.

The fountain inscriptions are of great importance for local history as in most cases they are fully dated both according to the era then in use and in the regnal year of the ruler of the time. Thus the Luj and Salhi stones have rendered it

possible to fix the year of accession of two Chamba Rajas of the 12th century. There are, however, two circumstances which considerably detract from their historical value. The inscriptions are, as a rule, composed in very ungrammatical Sanskrit, sometimes intermixed with vernacular terms, which often renders their detailed interpretation doubtful. In some instances (*e.g.* the Salhi inscription) the particulars of the date appear to be incorrectly noted.

What makes matters worse is their frequently fragmentary condition. Placed against the hill slope without any shelter or support these slabs were often thrown down by avalanches or upset by the pressure of the earth behind them and subsequently buried under the deposits of the rivulets. The spout-stone fixed in the earth behind caused the slab to break in its fall and in this manner many a stone may have become completely lost. Sometime it has happened that owing to long exposure the inscriptions became defaced or wholly obliterated, and in a few cases such slabs are said to have been wilfully smashed for utilitarian purposes. Fragments have been found in walls or steps belonging to dwelling-houses. Mostly however it was merely their position which was the cause of their ruin. Thus among the numerous inscribed stones of this kind hardly any specimen has come to light, of which the inscription and carving have remained entirely unjured.



Fig 15. Copper plate of Jug Lal.

I have treated the Chamba fountain inscriptions at some length on account of their peculiar character. Inscriptions on copper-plates, the last class to be discussed, are known to occur in most parts of India, and indeed must at one time have been in use all over the Indian Continent. The custom of engraving title deeds of pious donations on copper is referred to by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien and must therefore have existed in the 5th century of our era. Nor was this the only use such plates were put to. It is

recorded that after the third Buddhist council the sacred scriptures were engraved on copper plates and deposited in a *stupa* by order of king Kamska. This tradition derives some credit from the fact that in some of the *stupas* of ancient Takṣaśīla—the Taxila of the Greeks—inscribed plates of copper, silver and gold have been discovered.¹

With the exception of those from Takṣaśīla, that of Suci Vinai (Bahawalpur) and the Narmad title deed, the Punjab has yielded no ancient copper plate inscriptions, though at one time they must have been not less numerous here than in other parts of India. This may be inferred from the large number of such inscriptions found in Chamba State. I have been able in the course of my researches to collect no less than eighty-two copper plate inscriptions, of which five belong to the pre-Muhammadan and seventy-seven to the Muhammadan period. I have excluded those posterior to the reign of Raja Pithura Singh (A.D. 1641-64). Among the seventy-seven plates of the later period there are forty-two issued by Raja Balabhadra, who still lives in local tradition as the paragon of pious munificence. As the custom of issuing such documents was kept up till the end of the last century, and several specimens of each of the later Rajas are known to exist, the total number of copper plates in Chamba State may be safely estimated at nearly a hundred and fifty. But imposing as this number may appear, the preponderance of plates of the later period only shows how few in number the earlier plates that have come down to us are, as compared with those which have been lost.

The copper plate inscriptions which will be cited in the course of this work are all but one title deeds recording donations of land. The only exception is a plate issued by Raja Balabhadra and dated Sastar 75 Vikrama 1656 (A.D. 1599) which records the appointment of the Brahman Išvāra as his family priest. It is in the possession of his descendant the present *puraṭ*. I may note parenthetically that among the documents of later date there is a copper plate containing a treaty between Raja Raj Singh of Chamba and Raja Sansar Chand Katoc, the famous ruler of Kangra. It is dated from the latter's camp at Nadaun in the Vikrama year 1815 Jeth *pūr* 25. This plate is kept in the State Museum and numbered B 36. It is possible that at an earlier period also political documents of this kind were engraved on metal, but no other specimens have hitherto been recovered.

As to the common type of copper-plate inscriptions, i.e. those recording donations of land—the donor is usually the ruler of the time or one of his relatives. It is well known that according to Hindī law the king is regarded as the exclusive owner of land. It is curious that among the plates of Pithura Singh's reign there are two² issued by his nurse whose name Dū Butla is still remembered in Chamba. In the title deeds she is called Dhatī Butla Devi and Śū Dhatī Butla. Presumably she granted the land out of the *Jag*, which is usually bestowed on the Raja's *dar*. The donees are either Brahmans or temples. Among the Chamba copper-plate grants there are

¹ Cf. *A.S.R.* Vol. II, p. 15.
Thurn of the ...

² *Nag* ...

P. R. M. S. ...

one belongs to the *p. shat* of the Raja of Dhatī ...

Sastar 21 (A.D. 1646) one in Aṣṭā ...

only three which are bestowed on gods one—the oldest of all—on Varsingh at Biahmoi, the second on three temples in Chamba City and the third on Camunda Devi at Mindhul in Pangri. It should be noted that the title deed is actually issued in favour of the deity whose image the temple contains and that in case the idol is removed to another building it retains its grant of land. It goes without saying that most of the benefit falls to the share of the Brahman priests attached to the shrine.

The merit of bestowing gifts on the twice born has from ancient days been emphasized both in sacred and secular literature but land was occasionally presented to non Brahmans who had rendered service to the ruler of the State. There exists a copper plate at Dantuh (near Danti) at the foot of the Diati Pass which was issued by Raja Balabhadra to ten brothers of the Kalar caste viz. non Brahman. It is dated Sastri 91 Vikram 1670 (A D 1618). Sir Lepel Griffin also quotes the instance of a copper plate grant issued in *Sarnat* 1534 (A D 1527) by Raja Ajhai Sen of Mandi to a Khatu Madhusudan by name whose three brothers had been slain in a battle fought against the Ranas. We also read in one of our earliest Chamba copper plate inscriptions (No. 25) of land being enjoyed by Queen Raudha the wife of Raja Salavahana. But gifts of this kind were only granted for a period depending on the donor's pleasure and not exceeding the lifetime of the donee. There was consequently no need of recording such gifts on durable metal. The donations to Brahman, on the contrary, were made in perpetuity to be enjoyed by son and son's son for as long as the moon and the sun shall endure. Heavenly joy was to be the reward of the pious donor but terrible punishment awaited him who should confiscate the land thus given. 'Who takes the property of a Brahman given either by himself or by others for sixty thousands of years will be born as a worm in the dirt. He who confiscates what he himself has given will be a blind man for twelve existences, a hog for ten existences, and a leper for twelve existences. Mounted on a divine chariot drawn by geese the giver of land goes to the world of the gods, in a pot full of boiling oil the robber thereof sees the messenger of Death.

Stanzas of this kind are invariably found at the end of each title deed. They have in Chamba at least had the result—gratifying to the antiquarian—that the donations have been preserved as well as the copper plates on which they are recorded. I doubt whether in any other part of India an instance could be quoted of lands granted nearly a thousand years ago being still enjoyed by the descendants of the original donee. This is the case with the copper plate grant of Vilagdha the grandson of Sahulla the founder of Chamba who lived in the 10th century of our era and I refer to it not merely as a curiosity but as a matter of special interest for the study of ancient topography. There can of course be no doubt whatever that the village of Sumangali mentioned in that plate is represented by the modern Sungal in the vicinity of which the land is situated.

Grants of land to Brahman or temples were as we have seen considered meritorious under all circumstances. But the coincidence of certain astronomical phenomena was supposed to enhance

As.

As

The Ruler of the P. London 183 p. 67. Cf. Cunningham *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV p. 171.

The astrologer of the Raja of Chamba is in possession of a copper plate grant issued to one of his ancestors by Amrit Pal, the chief of the neighbouring State of Basohli in A D 1774. It appears that at that time the Basohli Raja had invaded Chamba. Another instance of a grant made to the *guru* of a neighbouring chief is afforded by the copper plate inscription of Bahadur Singh of Kulu mentioned above which records a grant of land to Pandit Ramapati the *guru* of the Chamba Raja. The donation was made on the occasion of the marriage of Bahadur Singh's three daughters presumably with the heir apparent of Chamba.

We have remarked above that the copper plates of the pre-Muhammadan period are few in number. We possess one of Yuga Chha after stucco kara varman the son of Sahila and one of Yugakara's son Vidagdha. These two presumably belong to the 10th century of our era. The remaining three plates of the pre-Muhammadan period date from the second half of the 11th century. One was issued by Soma varman the second by Soma varman and Asata combined and the third by Asata alone. These five plates are being edited in the present volume together with a spurious plate which though ascribed to Vidagdha is evidently a forgery of much later date. It would seem however that putty at least it was copied from a genuine document which has since disappeared.

Of the 12th and 13th centuries not a single copper plate inscription has come to light though there is no reason to assume that the rulers of that period were less generous than their predecessors and successors. Of Raja Vijay varman who must have ruled about A D 1200 the *Panjabia* (sl 87) distinctly states that he made grants of villages to Brahmans. From the beginning of the 14th century there begins a fresh series of copper plate charters which is continued without interruption down to the present day. There exists a very obvious difference between the pre-Muhammadan copper plate inscriptions and those of the Muhammadan period. The former are neatly engraved on good sized copper plates and are composed throughout in Sanskrit. The plates of the 14th and 15th centuries are very poor documents both as regards scholarship and technical execution. In the 16th century we notice a marked improvement perhaps due to the revival of Hindu civilization under the benign rule of Akbar. The charters of this period exhibit greater knowledge on the part of the writer and greater skill on that of the artisan. Nearly all plates of the Muhammadan period however are partly in the vernacular, which circumstance, though adding to their linguistic interest at the same time points to a decline of Sanskrit learning. The vernacular portion introduced by the formula *atha bhasa*, is that part of the document in which the boundaries of the granted land are described. It was of course essential that such passages should be intelligible to local officials who did not possess any knowledge of Sanskrit. Besides the difficulty of finding Sanskrit equivalents to render local topographical terms is manifest from some of the pre-Muhammadan plates in which the frequent use of sanskritized vernacular words in these passages often renders their interpretation extremely difficult.

In one respect the charters of the later period are superior to the earlier ones. Nearly all of them are very fully dated both in the local and in some other era and

thus enable us to fix the approximate dates of all the Chamba Rajas from the 14th century onwards. The pre-Muhammadian plates are dated in the regnal year of the ruling chief so that their date can only be approximately fixed with the aid of other epigraphical or literary documents. This point will be more fully discussed in a subsequent chapter.

As to the geographical distribution of the copper plates it deserves notice that they have been found almost exclusively in the Ravi valley. In Lahul not a single specimen has come to light, in Pang only one is known to exist—that granted by Raja Pithvi Singh to Garanda Devi of Minthal. In the Curah division comparatively few copper plates are found all belonging to the Muhammadan period. In the Ravi valley proper on the contrary such documents are exceedingly numerous. The pre-Muhammadian plates all belong to this region.

It will be seen that the number of copper plates in the various parts of Chamba stands in inverse proportion to that of the fountain inscriptions described above. The latter as we have pointed out are the records of feudatory chiefs called Ranas or Phikras. It is obvious that the Raja could only grant lands which were under his direct control. Thus the distribution of fountain inscriptions and of copper plate grants points to the same conclusion. The Ravi valley was from a very remote period—almost from the foundation of the present State—under the direct rule of the Raja whereas Curah, Pang and Lahul remained for a long time in the hands of the Ranas. The greater part of Lahul is indeed held by a Phikur up to the present day.

The above will suffice to show the great variety of the Chamba inscriptions. All these documents however have one main feature in common. They have almost without exception a religious purport which is definitely stated in the inscription itself. As to those recording the consecration of temples or images this is obvious. In the inscription on the brzen bull of Bishmor it is specially stated that the founder Meru varman, meant to increase the spiritual fruit of his parents and himself by building a Śiva temple and placing an image of the vehicle of that deity in front. The erection of the statue of Sakta Devi at Chatrahar by the same ruler seems to have been in fulfilment of a pious vow, for we read in the inscription incised on its pedestal that it was founded after Meru varman had conquered his foes in their invincible battles no doubt with the powerful help of the goddess. A parallel instance of more recent date of such a votive offering may be quoted from the neighbouring hill tract of Kulu. The temple of Hidimba Devi at Dhungri near Manali with its quaint wood carvings was built by Raja Bahadur Singh in the year A.D. 1553 after his conquest of the valley, in fulfilment of a solemn promise made previously to her—the patron-goddess of Kulu. At the end of the Saralan *prasasti* it is narrated that the chief Sniyaka dedicated a fine to the moon crowned Śiva in order to establish a firm friendship between his wife the beautiful Somaprabha, and Śiva's spouse the Mountain daughter Durgi.

The fountain of Devi in kothi was built by Baiha, the widow of the local Raja, for the benefit of her deceased lord. That of Mul-Kihar seems to have been

constructed by the husband and children of the noble Suramati to allay the grief caused by her death. The carved fountain slabs so numerous in Curah and Pangri as we learn from some of their inscriptions served a similar purpose. Both the Sallu and Nagla stones were erected by the local baron for the sake of the future bliss of his wife. That of Sai was set up for the sake of the Rana's son (*Pranaut*) Phin whose effigy is carved on the slab.

The donations of land to Brahmans and temples recorded on copper plates had likewise as already stated the character of pious acts calculated to increase the religious merit of the donor. We read in Virigdha's copper plate inscription that he granted the land for the sake of spiritual merit and for the increase of the glory of his parents and himself for the sake of the bliss of the next world and in order to cross the ocean of existence.

The sacred associations attaching to all our inscriptions have in a large degree contributed to preserve them. Where inscriptions have been destroyed this has been mostly due to the forces of nature. I have met with only a few cases in which inscribed stones had been wantonly destroyed or appropriated for building purposes. The destruction of the Mul Kibari and Bhatundi inscriptions is said to have happened at the time of the invasion of Amrit Lal of Basohli.

On the other hand the essentially religious nature of the epigraphs shows at once their limitations as historical records. Practically none of the inscriptions recovered in Chamha—except perhaps the Pichra gala rock inscription—are intended to perpetuate the remembrance of a historical event. In some of the copper plates it is true mention is made of the wars waged by Sahilla but this is only incidental. It is merely an episode in the eulogy devoted to the great ancestor of the generous donor of the grant. The historically important points—the names of Sahilla's allies and adversaries, the time and place of the battles fought by him—are omitted. Instead we have long strings of words which do credit to the author's knowledge of Indian rhetoric but fail to contribute to our knowledge of Indian history.

CHAPTER III—THE CHARACTER

There can be little doubt that in the centuries immediately preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era, the inhabitants of the Ravi valley employed both the Brahmi and Kharosthi characters. The use of these two scripts in the neighbouring basins and valleys during that period is proved by the Pathyia and Kanhiara rock inscriptions found in the north east corner of the Kangra district not far from the Chambra border. Both are foundation inscriptions of the most primitive kind consisting of a noun indicating the object founded—in one case a tank (*putaṁzi*) in the other either a convent or a garden (*śrama*)—and the name of the founder in the genitive case. These two words are given both in Brahmi and in Kharosthi but in each case a third word, apparently a caste name, is added to one of the two legends—at Pathyia to the Kharosthi and at Kanhiara to the Brahmi. Both these rock inscriptions were at one time situated within Chambra territory. The Pathyia inscription I discovered in 1901 near the fort of the same name which during part of the 15th century was garrisoned by Chambra troops. That of Kanhiara is found in the Rihlu *stupa* which formed part of Chambra territory until A.D. 1821 when it was seized by Pauri Singh. As however both these inscriptions date back to a period far anterior to the foundation of the State I have thought it unnecessary to include them in the present volume.

Within the present limits of the Chambra State the earliest epigraphs hitherto discovered are the Prusha Kala rock inscriptions (Nos 1-4). Next in date are the four image inscriptions of Meru-varman (Nos 5-8) and the slab inscription of his feudatory Samanta Asadha (No 9) which are written in the ornamental nail head type which succeeded the Gupta character and was used all over Northern India. It is the same script which we find on the base of the Virpa-varman image of Gali (map Chani) in the Kangra district and in those of Pifjaur. Numerous instances could be quoted from other parts of India. Cunningham assigns the Gali image inscription to the 7th or 8th century but the use of the tripartite *va* mal es me think that it is earlier.

The last rock inscriptions (No 10) are in the same character. The Prohara gale rock inscription of Raja Vriyujaya (No 11) and the Swami image inscription of Rajaraja Bhogata (No 12), form a transition from the acute angled type to the *śruti*.

All remaining epigraphs (Nos 13-50) edited in the present volume except Nos 34-36 No 50 are written in the Śarada character. The term Śarada—I may at once note—is now a-days unknown in Chambra and the character itself is no longer used. Notwithstanding frequent inquiries I have not succeeded in tracing a single ancient Śarada

Of Ep. I. No. VII No 16 pp 116 ff. I may note here that Pathyia is situated six miles so the east (not a mistake) of the tank as indicated of holes found in the tank.
 1. S. E. Vol. I p. 17 plate XLII a 13 of XIV 1. 2 plate XXII. The described precast of the Rajm.
 which was of Car has disappeared.

manuscript in Chamba. The pandits read and write Nagari, whilst the popular alphabet is the Hill Takari or Takri which will be discussed in the course of this chapter. Among the Chamba pandits I have met only one who can read the later Śrīnada (or *Devasesa* as he himself calls it) used in the title deeds of the Muhamadan period.

The name *Saradaśāstram* Buhler remarks means either letters sacred to Śrīnada i.e. Śrīnadviti or it may be taken as the letters which are Śrīnadviti i.e. (visible) speech. Śrīnada is considered one of the tutelary deities of the country (Kāśmīr) which is frequently named after her *Sarada Jēla* or *Sarada maṇḍala*. In India too writing in general is called *Sarasvatī* or *Sarasvatī mātṛ* the face of the goddess of speech.² It would seem therefore that the term Śrīnada used by the pandits of Kāśmīr originated in that country. It is not improbable that there the script denoted by that name was also first elaborated.

Buhler³ observes that the Śrīnada script appears from about A.D. 800 in Kāśmīr and in the north eastern Panjab (Kangra and Chamba). The oldest known Śrīnada inscriptions he says are the two Baijnath Prasastis from Knāgrīnāma (Kangra) dated A.D. 801. Not much later are the coins of the Varma dynasty of Kāśmīr, where the Śrīnada forms are likewise fully developed. And it is not improbable that the Balhshahi Manuscript found in the Yusufzai district belongs to the same or even a somewhat earlier period.⁴ I may point out that the true date of the Baijnath *prasastis* is not Saka 726 (A.D. 804) as Buhler at the instance of Cunningham assumed but Saka 1126 (A.D. 1204). Regarding the date of this inscription the late Professor Kielhorn⁵ remarked: "In my opinion the most important question to be answered in connection with this date is whether the first figure of the Saka year in the date of the second *prasasti* is 7 or not. Sir A. Cunningham and Professor Buhler say that it is, and if they are right the *laukika* year 80 of the date of the first *prasasti* should according to what we know at present of the Gupta era, no doubt correspond to Śaka 726 expired. But the first of the bright half of Jyāsthira did not fall on a Sunday the day of the week given in the date in Saka 726 expired nor in fact in any of the eight years from Saka 722 to 729 expired. If on the other hand we were not restricted by the date of the second *prasasti* to any particular century of the Saka era, I would say that the *laukika* year 80 of the first *prasasti* must correspond to Śaka 1126 expired because of all the expired 26th years of the centuries of the Saka era from Saka 696 to Saka 1126 only the year 1126 yields the desired Sunday (the 2nd May A.D. 1204). And I should not be prevented by anything in the contents of the inscription and the language of the author or in the alphabet employed from assigning the inscription to so late a period. I may add that independently of Professor Kielhorn's researches a close examination of the inscription has led me to the conclusion that the date noted

Enc. Ind. Report p. 51. Cf. also Stein *Revue Ind. Ind.* II p. 436.

I should prefer to render this the month of Śrīnadviti rather than the rough which Śrīnada herself. Compare the expression *g. v. k.* in the script though which the *g.* speaks.

² *J. Ind. Pale.* p. 56 (Enl. Ind. p. 57).

³ *J. Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX (1891) p. 104. Cf. also *J. Ind. Ant.* for 1905-06 p. 19 ff.

in the second *prast* is not 7th but 112[6] the last figure being effaced. The Bhatt inscription is therefore far from being the earliest Śūnda records belong to a comparatively late period as will be fully borne out in the subsequent discussion of their palaeographic characteristics.

Among other Śārada inscriptions found in the Kangra valley there is none which can be dated with certainty except the eulogy of the goddess Jvalamukhi in the famous temple of Vajrāsana or Mata Devi at Bhawā the suburb of Kangra town. It is dated in the reign of Rajā Samsat Chandra I of Kangra and of his overlord Muḥammad Sayyid Imād-ud-Dīn (A.D. 1333-46). It should be noted that only the first two lines and part of the third line containing the *mangala* and the first stanza, are in Śūnda whereas the rest of the inscription is written in Nagari. This shows that in the 14th century both characters were used side by side in the Kangra District. The same is proved for the end of the 13th century by a Nagari inscription² on a stone pedestal which must have belonged to a stone statuette of the Jina Mahāvīra which is now placed in the high niche of the temple of Baijnath. It is dated [Vikramāditya Samvat 1296 Phalguna *kr̥ti* 5 Sunday which corresponds to the 15th January A.D. 1410].

It is very curious to find the Śārada and Nagari alphabets used simultaneously in Kulu just as at a much earlier period was the case with Brahmi and Kharosthi.

In the Kulu subdivision we have found no inscriptions anterior to the reign of Bhaḥadur Singh who lived in the middle of the 16th century. In the neighbouring Hill State of Mandi there is a Śārada inscription dated Saka samvat 1442 Kalyuga 4622 (A.D. 1510) in the temple of Śiva Tribhoknath in Puanā Manā. Still later are the Mandi *Sati* pillars the oldest of *samvat* 13 (A.D. 1637) which have been described by Cunningham³. These inscriptions though of a comparatively late date prove that the Śārada character was once used in the whole Bias valley.

In the Satluj valley no Śūnda inscriptions have come to my notice but considering the close connection of Kulu and Mandi with Sukhet and Kalua, it is very probable that at one time Śūnda was used there also. It is of interest to note that a fragmentary *prast*⁴ discovered in 1903 in the Sumra State and now preserved in the Lahore Museum is written not in Śārada, but in an early type of Nagari. We may, therefore assume that the Śūnda character is not found east of the Satluj valley.

There can be little doubt that in the Ravi valley Śārada was exclusively used. But it is curious that in the Chamba copper plate grants of the Muḥammadan period the Raja's seal is engraved in Nagari whereas the charter itself is invariably written in the late form of Śārada locally called Devāsaka. The earliest document written throughout in

Cf. Bühler *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 100 ff. The temple was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 4th April 1905, but the inscription escaped. *J. A. S. R.* for 1906, pp. 16 f.

Cf. *J. S. R.* Vol. I. p. 187 and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 178 f. At present a stone image of Śurva is placed on the same pedestal.

² *J. A. S. R.* Vol. XIV. p. 123 pl. XXX and XXXI.

³ Cf. my *Annual Progress Report for 1903-04* pp. 69 f.

Nagari which I have seen in Chamba is a copper plate grant of Raja Rāj Singh dated Śastī 52 Vikrama 1831 Śaka 1698 Siavana s t 8 Tuesday corresponding to A D 1776. The contemporaneous charters of the Basohli Rajas Anant Pal (Vikrama 1831 Śaka 1698 = A D 1774) and Bijai Pal (Vikrama 1846 Śaka 1711 — A D 1789) are also written in Nagari.

In the Chamba valley a few Śarada inscriptions have come to light. One I noticed in a ruined temple on the ancient site of Babon the ancient Bahbapura 17 miles east of Jammu and another on a stone *linga* at Kasta in the ancient Kasthanata. Unfortunately both these inscriptions are almost completely defaced.

The oldest Śarada inscriptions in Kāśmīr as Bühler remarks are the legends on the coins of the Varman dynasty. Stone inscriptions are rare. The earliest specimen is the fragment of the reign of Queen Didda (A D 980-1003) dated in the 68th year of the Saptasāra corresponding to A D 992-3. It was recovered by Dr. Lœniger from the wall of a house at Sunagar and presented to the Lahore Museum (Cat. No. I. 19). All other Śarada inscriptions in Kāśmīr which can be dated belong to the Muhammadan period. A few have been found in Ladakh also.

Thus we see that the Śarada character was once extensively and probably exclusively used in the hill area watered by the five great rivers of the Punjab. But further west also Śarada inscriptions have come to light. The Bakhshali manuscript quoted by Bühler would not perhaps in itself afford conclusive proof of its use in the Peshawar district. But the neighbouring district of Hazara the ancient Uśāṣī and the adjoining hill tracts of Swat and Buner the ancient Udyana have yielded Śarada inscriptions which are now preserved in the Lahore Museum. One inscription in that Museum (No. 153) is said to originate from Jalalabad in Afghanistan. The Peshawar Museum also contains two Śarada inscriptions of which the exact find spot is unknown but which in all probability belong to the Peshawar or one of the neighbouring districts. There can therefore be little doubt that the Śarada character was used in the ancient Gandhara during the reign of the Shāhi dynasty and in the period immediately preceding the Muhammadan conquest. An inscription from Ghaggar north east of Badkhan in Sindh now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. I. 94) is dated *samvat* 9 in the reign of Hammur. By this name in reality the Sanskritized form of Arabic *amīr* Mahmud of Ghazni is usually designated but it is also used to denote his successors. In the present case it seems to indicate his son Mas'ud as the year A D 1033 to which Śastī samvat 9 would correspond would fall in his reign (A D 1031-1041).

There are indications that at one time Śarada was used in the plains of the Punjab also. A few years ago a fragmentary inscription in that character was discovered in Subz Pind. It is now deposited in the Lahore Museum. A fact of much interest which only

Cf. Cunningham's Ind. Ant. p. 781 pl. XXXIX and F. B. Saich's H. o. v. of the P. & T. B. L. (London 1890) p. 50. Seventh Oriental Congress. Asian Section 1893. Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII (1893) pp. 33 ff. and also with facsimile.

ately has been recognised is that the Palam well inscription in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (Cat No B 3) is partly written in Śāradā. The concluding portion (part of line 21 and the whole of line 22) are in the vernacular—ancient Bāgarī as Dr Guéron is inclined to assume—and for this passage Śāradā is used whereas all the rest of the inscription which is composed in Sanskrit is written in Nagari. The vernacular portion was evidently added for the benefit of the common folk unacquainted with Sanskrit. This circumstance seems to indicate that at the time when this inscription was carved Śāradā was the popular script used in and round Delhi whereas Nagari was used by the learned. The Palam inscription is dated in the reign of Bulbul Vikramā samvat 1337 Śrāvana *śukla* 13 Wednesday which according to Professor Kielhorn corresponds either to 26th June 1280 or 13th August 1281.

It will be noticed that considering the extent of the area over which Śāradā was once used the epigraphical records in that character are by no means abundant. Moreover a large percentage of these Śāradā inscriptions are more or less fragmentary or mutilated. Up to the year 1904 not a single specimen had been reproduced in facsimile not even the Bāgarī *prāśastis* which have been known since 1877. Besides there existed as I have pointed out above a misconception with regard to the date of these important inscriptions which has only recently been removed. Owing to these circumstances it has been impossible up to the present to give a detailed history of the Śāradā script though valuable suggestions have been made by Bühler, Hoernle and other epigraphists.

The splendid series of epigraphical records which of late years have come to light in Chamba will enable us to trace the history of the Śāradā and its derivatives with greater confidence than the scanty material hitherto available would allow. With regard to its origin we follow Bühler and Hoernle who describe it as a descendant of the western Gupta alphabet. We are now in a position to add that the Śāradā is not a direct descendant of the Gupta but that an intermediate form is found in the earlier Chambar inscriptions Nos 12 of the present volume. The character of these epigraphs does not essentially differ from that of Pāṭhyadeśī which intervened between the Gupta and Nagari. On account of its curls it used to be designated by the name of *lutula* for which term Bühler proposes to substitute that of *acute angled* (*spitzwinkl*) *chr*.²

It follows from the above that we cannot accept Hoernle's thesis that 'the elaboration of the so called Śāradā alphabet may be placed about 500 A.D.' Bühler³ rightly points out that the Śāradā as an epigraphical script dates from the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century though as a literary alphabet it may be considerably older. The earliest dateable documents in which the Śāradā appears are the coins of the Utpalī (or Varman) dynasty of Kāśmīr which start from the middle of the 9th century. In the inscriptions of Meruvarman which probably date from the beginning of the 8th century we find the acute angled type then in use all over Northern India.

¹ Cf. U. 3 Śāradā script on fro. Arigom n Kāśmīr has been published with a facsimile by Dr Sten Konow *Ep. Ind. Vol. IX* pp 300 ff. It belongs to the reign of Ramacarya of 1450 and is dated Laukika samvat 73 corresponding to A.D. 1150.

² *J. A. S. B. Vol. LX* (189) p. 30.

³ *Kāśmīr. Revue* i. 1. 31.

It must have taken not less than a century before this script developed into the Śāraḍa from which it differs so materially. The Development earliest Śāraḍa inscription of Chamba I consider to be the Sarāhan *prāsasti* (No 13) which exhibits some singularly archaic forms. Unfortunately it is not dated, but I feel inclined to assign it to the 9th century. The earliest Śāraḍa inscriptions of Chamba which can be approximately dated are the copper plate grants of Yugakara and Viḍagdhā the immediate successors of Sahillā who may be safely placed in the 10th century. For the 11th and 12th centuries we possess a series of fully dated records in which we can follow the development of the Śāraḍa up to the beginning of the 13th century, the date of the Buḡnath *prāsastis*.

With these the history of the Śāraḍa proper comes practically to an end. It is true that Bühler applies the term Śāraḍa also to the Devāna script used in the *mungala* and first verse of the Jvalī-mukhī eulogy of Kangra city which, as noticed above dates from about A.D. 1440. The script however of this and similar later records differs so considerably from that of the pre-Muhammadan documents that it seems desirable to denote it by a special name. In Chamba I found it designated as *devāsēsa* and though the term does not seem to be known elsewhere I have adopted it in the present work for the sake of convenience. By this name then I propose to indicate the script which was used in Chamba and the neighbouring Hill tracts from c. A.D. 1300 till c. A.D. 1700. The 13th century forms a blank which separates the two palaeographical periods.

We have seen that in the course of the 13th century the Devāna was adopted in Chamba for epigraphical records. In Kaśmīr the common use of Devānaḡarī cannot be traced back beyond the second quarter of the 19th century¹. In the Kangra district we find it already introduced several centuries before. The Śāraḍa however or rather its descendant, the Devāsēsa, continues as the popular script of the Panjab Hills under the name of Takarī or Tākī. Bühler refers to it as 'a modern cursive variety of the Śāraḍa the so called Takarī or Takarī of the Dogras in Jammu and the neighbourhood, which of late has been imported also into Kaśmīr'. In reality the Takarī is used all over the Panjab Hills, except perhaps in the Simla district. There are a great number of varieties each Hill State or tract having its own peculiar Takarī. That of Jammu is called Dogrī. The Takarī is in general very difficult to read and is occasionally used for inscriptions almost undecipherable. It will, no doubt be the despair of future epigraphists. It is a curious circumstance that in general the oldest inscriptions are the easiest to decipher.

As regards the origin of the term Takarī or Tākī, two etymologies may be suggested. It may be connected with *tālī* which would point to its having been in the first instance a commercial alphabet. A parallel is furnished by the word

¹ *Stron Rajat* Vol. I p. 51.

Ind. Pal. p. 57 (Engl. p. 57). Cf. also *Kas. or Report* p. 32. Cunningham *As. Geogr.* p. 154 and *J. A. S.* for 1891 p. 160 on the Dogrī of Jammu. Cf. Drew *J.* 1900 pp. 471 f. A table showing the Takarī now used in Chamba has been published by Oldham *J. P. I. S.* for 1891 p. 100.

Mahajan (from *nahajan* a baul or) Another possibility is to connect it with *thau* (Chakradik 1, a) in which case it may originally have been the character used by the Rajput land holders. The latter derivation would however presuppose the disappearance of the initial consonant. De-aspiration as Dr Grierson informs me is very frequent in the dialects further west towards the Indus hills and also in the *jashni* which is closely connected with Pahari. But it does not seem to occur in the case of the aspirated hard cerebral. In this connection, I wish to note that the name *Tidwa* also denotes the commercial shorthand used by the *banyas* of certain districts of the Punjab. I am not prepared to say what its relationship is to the *tal* of the Hills and whether it is derived from *Śāradā*. There can be little doubt that *Gurmukhī*—the alphabet in which the vernacular of the Punjab is now-a-days written—is a descendant of the ancient *Śāradā*. Some *alvars* like *ka jo n 'a pa bi ra* and *ka* show a peculiar development, but on the whole the ancient forms have been well preserved. The sign for the cerebral sibilant is used to denote the aspirated hard guttural. The remaining gutturals (except *ka*) the cerebrals (except *sa*) the dentals (except *na*) and the labials (except *ba*) are very similar to the corresponding *Śāradā* letters. This confirms the conclusion arrived at above that the *Śāradā* character was once used not only in the Hills but also in the Plains of the Punjab.

Previous writers have laid great stress on the extremely conservative character of the *Śāradā* alphabet. Cunningham² refers to it as 'Gujar character' which he asserts has been always in use in the hills between the *Tamra* and the *Indus*. 'In fact,' he continues, 'the *Banyas* of the hills still keep their accounts in Gujar character, and when I placed a copy of the *Altkhwal* pillar inscription of *Samudra Gupta* before a *Banyā* he read off at once *Maheśvaradeva Sri Candragupta*'

Professor Kielhorn³ in editing the copper plate grant of *Soma Varman* and *Asata* (No 27 of the present volume) remarked 'that it would have been impossible to determine the age of that inscription even approximately from the characters in which it is written'. Dr Hoernle also formulated the thesis that 'the *Śāradā* characters are no guide as to age' and declared that any undated manuscript or inscription written in the *Śāradā* alphabet *must* be placed after 500 A.D. but *may* be placed almost at any time *after* that epoch."

Notwithstanding their great authority in palaeographical matters I cannot concur with the opinion of the writers just quoted. It is, I believe based on insufficient evidence owing to the scantiness of the material. Regarding the conservative nature of the *Śāradā* there can be no difference of opinion but it cannot be maintained that in the course of many centuries it has not undergone any modifications. It is possible that the *Śāradā* used in manuscripts by the Kashmiri pandits has remained unchanged from the time it ceased to be a popular alphabet. But the series of inscriptions found in *Chamba* shows a slow but distinct development in

¹ Cf. A. Grierson *On the Modern Indo-Aryan Alphabets of North-Western India* J. R. A. S. for 1904 pp. 67 ff. with plate showing *Gurmukhī*, *Landa*, *Takri* and *Śāradā* alphabets.

² *J. S. R. V.* Vol. XIV, p. 121.

³ *J. A. S. V.* Vol. XXVI, p. 7 p. 2.

the shapes of certain *matras* and ligatures and in the expression of the medial vowels. This I wish to demonstrate in detail in the following pages. The difference between the Śāradā proper and the Devāśeśa of the Muhammadan period is so marked, that it will be noticed at a glance. But I believe that a close examination of the character will also enable us to fix the approximate date of any undated Śāradā record of the pre Muhammadan period provided it is extensive enough to lend itself to a detailed study.

A general characteristic 'Bühler' says of the Śāradā of all periods is found in the stiff thick strokes which give the characters an uncouth appearance and a certain resemblance to those of the Kharoṣṭhī period. This remark holds good of the later Śāradā inscriptions as exemplified by the Baiṇāth *prasasti* which formed the main basis for Bühler's observations but does not in the same degree apply to the earlier inscriptions. The Śāradā it is true is far less ornamental than the acute angled script of Mauryan inscriptions which preceded it. But the character of the Śāradā *prasasti* (No. 13) and that of Viḍagḍha's copper plate grant (No. 10) cannot be said to be any more uncouth than that of an ordinary Gupta or Nagari inscription. Much depends on the ability of the engraver and in general it may be stated that the earlier documents are better executed than the later ones. This observation may be of some help in determining the age of an inscription but does not of course in itself afford a sufficient criterion. We have only to compare the Siliḥ fountain inscription (No. 41) with its squat thick set letters and that of Devīnīlōthī (No. 32) in which the Śāradā retains a remarkable degree of elegance. Yet these two inscriptions belong to the reign of the same Raja and are separated by a period of only ten years. The probable explanation is that Rana Naṅ Pal of Devī Kōthī had the means to employ an abler artisan than his neighbour Rana Lādān Pal of Siliḥ.

The graceful appearance of the Devīnīlōthī inscription is largely due to the use of slim strokes with distinct nailheads or wedges at the top. Such nailheads it will be seen occur in other Śāradā inscriptions also especially in connection with the akṣaras *la ta da na la ra*.

We find them in the Baiṇāth *prasasti* and in general in all carefully executed stone inscriptions such as that of Māl Kihī (No. 30). But in the Śāradā *prasasti* the nailheads are replaced by small horizontal strokes and the same is the case with the copper plate grants. Here it is evidently due to the nature of the material. This may be inferred from Yugalnā's grant (No. 14) in which we notice a very unusual fashion of finishing the vertical strokes at the top by means of two short lines forming a right angle turned upwards. It looks as if the engraver had attempted to imitate the wedges of the stone inscriptions. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period nailheads are not found: this constitutes at once a point of difference between the earlier and the later character.

I now proceed to discuss the development of the Śāradā characters in detail taking successively at the instance of Bühler the radical signs or *matras* the medial vowels and the ligatures.

A The radical signs or matikas

The initial *u* and *a* retain throughout in Śāradā the shape which they have in the acute angled alphabet. The head of these letters remains open. The lower portion of the left half consists of a curve open to the left which already occurs in the inscriptions of the Kusāna period. This curve is also preserved in the Devanagari of the Bombay Presidency, whereas elsewhere it has become replaced by two slanting strokes. At the foot of the vertical to the left there is a wedge which on the copper plates assumes the appearance of a serif (Cf No 14 ll 1, 11 and 18).

The long *u* is unambiguously differentiated from the short one by the addition of a second curve open to the left which is attached to the foot of the vertical (Cf No 13 ll 19). This curve is thereby regularly found in the acute angled script. In the inscriptions of Meruvarman we twice find the curve (Nos 6 and 8) and twice a downward stroke to the right of the top (No 5) such as has become current in Devanagari. In the Gaṇeśa and Śaḍṭi inscriptions (Nos 5 and 8) the *u* has a somewhat uncommon shape. In Devāgarī initial *u* and *a* preserve essentially the same shape as in Śāradā but the top is closed by means of a top stroke as in Devanagari and the wedge at the foot of the vertical sometimes becomes a triangular loop (Cf No 16 ll 6 and 8 and *Kuṭi graṇṭh* ll 7 and 13).

The initial *i* has preserved in Śāradā the shape peculiar to the acute angled script which is derived from the ancient Brahmi by substituting a curve for the lowermost of the three dots. According to Bühler it is first found in the Indus copper plate of Sālandagupta of A.D. 460². In the Śāradā inscriptions it has remained unchanged and is still found in exactly the same form on the Chamba copper plates of the Muhammadan period. Instances will be found in No 13, ll 3 and 7, No 28 ll 3 and 4, No 29 ll 11, No 30 ll 2, No 33 ll 3.

Of initial *i* only very few instances occur in our inscriptions. In the Śāradā *prasasti* (No 13 ll 1) it has exactly the same appearance as in the Bower MS (*Ind. Pal.* pl VI, 4 I) namely the upper and lower dots of the ancient sign which consisted of four dots have been converted into a vertical stroke with a wedge on each end. This shape however does not seem to have been preserved in Śāradā. In the Baṇnath inscriptions (II ll 7 *Ind. Pal.* pl V, 4 I) we find the vertical stroke considerably shortened and the two dots placed over it. At what time this form became introduced it is impossible to say as I do not know of any instance of this letter in the intervening period.

Initial *u* retains in Śāradā its shape of the Gupta period. For instances I refer to No 13 ll 17, No 11 ll 10, No 15 ll 13 (twice), 15 and 26, No 24 ll 16 (twice) and 20. In the Bakhshālī MS we find the upward stroke lengthened up to the level of the top stroke and this is also sometimes the case in the Chamba inscriptions. Initial *u* retains the same shape in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (cf No 16 ll 11). The upward stroke differentiates the *u* from *f*. In the later inscriptions the two *alsawas* are often hard to distinguish.

² Bühler *Ind. Pal.* p 53 (4)
Copper plates pp 168 ff. plate IX B

Initial *u* has the same appearance as *u* but is provided with a downward curve attached to the middle of the letter on the right side. It occurs in No 13 l 17 and No 24 l 23.

Initial *e* appears in its ancient triangular shape but a wedge attached to the left end of the top stroke constitutes an innovation. We notice two varieties: 1st the triangle is equicural (almost equilateral) its base forming the top stroke 2nd the triangle is rectangular the rectangle being formed by the top stroke and the vertical. The equicural or equilateral form which is the more archaic is generally found in the older Chamba inscriptions [No 13 ll 1 and 10 No 10 ll 15 and 24 No 24 ll 20 and 21 No 25 l 20 (twice)]. The other later form occurs in No 10 l 7 No 10 l 8 No 26 l 17 and in Bijnath (I 16 18 II 5 but *cf* I 7). An uncommon squarish variety is that found in No 26 l 12.

No instance of initial *ai* is known from Śāradā inscriptions. In manuscripts it presents the appearance of initial *e* with superscribed *i* stroke (*Ind Pal* pl VI 12 VII).

Initial *o* occurs exclusively in the sacred syllable *om* which however is mostly expressed by a symbol derived from an earlier form of that letter (*cf Ind Pal* pl IV 6 XVIII). This symbol is regularly found in Meru varman's inscriptions (Nos 5—8) and also in that of Samanta Asadha (No 9) where it is provided with a long tail. For other instances see No 13 l 1, No 15 l 1, No 25 l 1, No 26 l 1, No 28 l 1, No 29 l 1. It will be seen that the original *o* is often partly or wholly inverted. The syllable *om* is rendered by initial *o* with *o* *insarā* in No 11, l 1, No 14 l 1, No 3 l 1. The *o* *insarā* has the appearance of initial *u* with a wedge or serif in front. It would seem that in the Bijnath inscriptions initial *o* is expressed by the sign for initial *u* with a curve attached to the right very similar to that found in initial *u* (*cf Ind Pal* pl V 9, I). I suspect however that this additional curve is in reality a separate stroke used as a sign of punctuation. It will be noticed that in the Śāradā of the Kāśmīr MSS initial *o* has no such curve. Here we find the *prathamā* developed into a vertical which closes the sign *u* in front (*Ind Pal* pl VI 13 IX *cf* also *Kulugra* l 1).

Initial *au* is expressed in the same manner but a wedge is added to the right of the top of the letter (*Ibide* l 1 IX). It does not occur in inscriptions.

The *la* (except in *ku* *la*) and its upper or central member of ligatures) retains the shape which it has as member in the acute angled script where the left end of the cross bar is connected with the foot of the vertical. The loop thus formed is in general more rounded in the older inscriptions (also in the Bakhshali MS. See *Ind Pal* VI 10 VIII) and more angular in the later ones. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period the curve on the right side is sometimes connected with the vertical thus forming a second loop (*cf Kulugra* *passim*). This development gives the letter an appearance similar to that of *cha* from which it is often difficult to distinguish. The double looped *la* is also found in the Śāradā MSS of Kāśmīr (*Ind Pal* pl VI 10 I). It has led to a further modification in the modern *Ṭakari* where the *la* resembles the cursive capital *H* of the Roman alphabet. The Gurmukhī *la* seems to be derived direct from the Śāradā form with single loop.

The *lha* may be best described as an ancient *dha* with a vertical to the left attached to it by means of a top stroke (No 13 ll 14 18 19). Here also the later form is in general more angular than the older one. In inscriptions of the 12th century (Nos 41 and 55) we find moreover a peculiar development of the above noted vertical which follows as it were the outline of the supposed *dha* and becomes crooked. This however is only an ephemeral form, as it is not found in the contemporaneous Sulu inscription (No 33, l 3 *lilhitam*) nor in the Bagnath *p asastis*. In the Devasesa also the vertical is straight (No 16 *likhitam* in top margin and *Kul grant* l 20).

In the grant of Vidagdha (No 14) the letter *ga* is occasionally distinguished by a serif at the top of the vertical and a wedge at the foot of the second stroke. But for the rest *ga* retains the same shape all through the series of Śuāda inscriptions. It is identical with the Nagari letter.

The letter *gha* also remains unchanged. Cf. No 31 l 23 No 35 *Ghaghula*.

The *aiśara* *ai* is only found in combination with other gutturals¹. It has retained its shape of the Gupta period but is characterised by a wedge at the right end of the top stroke. Such a protuberance is also found in the alphabet named after it preceding the Nagari. Bühler sees in it the origin of the dot of the Nagari *ai*.

Bühler mentions the quadrangular *ca* as one of the characteristic letters of the Śuāda. It should however be noticed that in the earlier inscriptions such as the Sarada *p asasti* (No 13) and the Chamba copper plates the shape of this letter is still rounded with a pointed projection to the left exactly as in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. This form is also found in the Bakhshali MS. In the epigraphs of the 12th century (e.g. Nos 31 and 35) it assumes a more angular form and is very similar to the *ca* except for a knob which is replaced the projection of the older type. The quadrangular *ca* peculiar to the Kāśmīr MSS. is not found in our inscriptions. In Devasesa and Lakṣmī we find *ca* provided with a cursive loop.

The *cha* appears in its ancient shape of the Gupta period which it keeps both in Śuāda and in Nagari. In later inscriptions as noted above, it is often difficult to distinguish this letter from the *lha* with double loop.

The *ja* which in Nagari has undergone such considerable modifications appears in the Śuāda in exactly the same form as in the acute angled alphabet which differs but slightly from that found in the earliest Brahmi. In no other letter perhaps is the conservative nature of the Sarada better illustrated. The Sarada *ja* differs from that of the Gupta period in its more cursive appearance and in a wedge attached to the right end of the top stroke. This wedge which may easily be confused with the *a* mark disappears in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. The peculiar forms of *ja* will be discussed beneath.

The *aiśara jha* is very rare. In our inscriptions it is only met with in the ligature *jha* (No 13 l II *asajjātene*) which agrees closely with the *okṣara jha* in the Bower MS (*Jnd Pal* pl VI 23 II).

The palatal nasal also occurs only in combination with other letters. I may

¹ I may note that a single occurrence is a grant of Prithi Singh II C Pan for Panj, of the temple of Cāmān at Mādālā.

note *na* (No 30 ll 13 15), *ñe* (No 13 l 20), *na* (No 32 l 20) *na* (No 13 ll 6, 7, 8 20), and for the Muhammadan period *ñja* (No 16 l 8). It still betrays its descent from the ancient Brahmi *na*, but has developed a top stroke with a wedge similar to that of *ja* but attached to the other (left) end. Its shape is exactly the same as that found in the Bower MS. In the later Kashmiri MSs the wedge has become a vertical stroke just as in the case of initial *o* noted above.

The appearance of the two hard cerebrals in Śāradā does not present anything remarkable. Both letters have practically preserved the ancient forms of the Brahmi except that *ta* has developed a top-stroke. This top stroke – it should be noted – is not yet found in the earlier Śāradā inscriptions of Chamba (Cf No 13 l 2 *Bhogate*, No 15, l 9 *cata bhata*). But it appears in the copper plates of the 11th century (No 21 l 2 No 25 l 3). It will be seen that here too, as in the case of *ja* a wedge is attached to the right end of the top stroke. This wedge occurs already in the earliest Śāradā inscriptions. It is also found in the Śāradā of Kashmir.

Among the Śāradā letters which exhibit a peculiar development Bühler mentions the *da* which shows in the middle a loop instead of an acute angle and a wedge at the end. The loop however is not apparent in the examples to which he refers. Possibly it occurs in the Śāradā of Kashmir. We find a looped *da* in the Nandi inscription of Meru Varman (No 7 *mandapa*) but I have not met it in the Śāradā inscriptions of Chamba (Cf No 14, l 6, *mandala* No 15, l 9, *dandaka dandavasilā* No 24 l 16 *mandalasya* No 31, l 13 *akandā*, *danda canda* No 33 l 3 *śūlo*). It will be seen that in Viśaditya's grant (No 15) the wedge at the foot of the letter presents the appearance of a miniature quadrangle.

The *alasa dha* has in Śāradā practically the same shape as in the Kharoṣṭhi and Gupta inscriptions (Cf No 4 l 14, *pandha*). The ligature *idha* occurs in the proper name, Rādhā found in the three copper plate grants of the 12th century (No 21 l 19, No 25, ll 12, 16, No 26, l 5). The *alasa dha* and *pha* are very similar in appearance and are sometimes difficult to distinguish (Cf *Phal* in No 35).

The cerebral nasal of the Śāradā shows a very peculiar development¹. Bühler remarks that in the acute angled script the suppression of the original base stroke occurs in ligatures from the 7th century and in the uncombined sign from the 8th century. This is well illustrated by the inscriptions of Meru Varman (Cf *nda* in *mandapa* No 7 with single *n* in *puttīcna varmmana Guggena* No 5) and confirms my conclusion with regard to the approximate date of these epigraphs. The transition between the two forms of *n* will be clearly seen by comparing the *nya* of *punya* in No 5 with that in No 8. In the earlier Śāradā inscriptions we still find the single *na* occasionally provided with a remnant of a base stroke (No 12 *passa* but note *gno* l 3 No 21 *Taruna* l 1, but *Phalguni* l 2). Already in the early copper plates we find the peculiar Śāradā *n* which resembles a *tashdid* with a small upward stroke to the right. This is also the type found in the Bakhshali MS (*Ind Pal* pl VI, 29 VIII). In defaced inscriptions the trace left by *na* is

¹ Cf also the note on the *Pal* in my inscription (J. A. S. B. Vol. XLIII pp 104 ff.) was erroneously indicated in the Śāradā.

always easily recognisable. In the later Śarada inscriptions the *al'sara* undergoes a further development. It is provided with a long tail attached to the left side and slanting down to the right. This tailed *a* is not yet found on the copper plates of Somavarmān and Anant but appears first in the Lohitkharī inscription of Jisatsar reign (No 29). The epigraphs of the time of Lakṣmavarmān (Nos 30-33) have the older form but the tailed *a* is regularly used in the Mul Kharī inscription (No 34) and also in the Bijnāth *prasasti* (*Cf Ind Pal* pl V 24 I). We may infer that the tailed *a* is developed in the course of the 12th century. In the Devāgarī we find the forms with and without the tail used promiscuously (No 16 *passim*).

The dental *ṭa* according to Bühler being derived from a looped form has lost its left half while the right has been converted into a curve. Looped forms are occasionally met in the Chamba inscriptions (No 13 l 3, *satata* and No 21), they may easily be confused with *bha* in badly carved inscriptions. The ordinary form without the loop remains unchanged all through the Śaradī and has been preserved in the modern alphabets.

The *ḥa* appears in the Śarada inscriptions in two distinct forms. The older one which is very similar to that of the Gupta period has the shape of a crescent the convex side turned to the left (No 13, less pronounced in No 15). The later form which is lozenge shaped occurs in inscriptions of the 12th century (No 31, l 10) and in the Bijnāth *prasasti* (*Ind Pal* pl V, 26 I). In Śarada, as in the older script the *ḥa* is similar to *sa* except for its top stroke.

The Śaradī *ḍa* has the same forms as in the Gupta character. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period it develops a loop (No 16) which is thereby noticeable in the Bhakund fountain inscription (No 21 *ḍana*). This loop is very pronounced in the modern Takrī of Chamba.

The *ab'sara dha* shows the same two varieties as *ḥa* from which it is only distinguished by the absence of a cross bar. In the earlier Śarada inscriptions it is still crescent shaped. In the Surin *prasasti* for instance single *dha* has precisely the same appearance as in the Aśoka inscriptions. In *dha* however it develops a top stroke. This crescent-shaped *dha* is also found in the grant of Viḍagdhar (No 15). Gradually the top stroke is added for the single letter also which then becomes almost identical with *ṭa*. This form is found in the inscriptions of the 11th century. In the 12th century the letter is flattened below also so that it assumes the aspect of a Devāgarī *pa* (*Cf* No 31 l 2 and *Ind Pal* pl V 28 I). The extreme of this process has been reached in the Śa fountain inscription (No 35) where the original crescent has become a square. This form, however, is not found anywhere else. The later alphabets have preserved the type of the 11th century with its flat top and rounded base.

The dental nasal appears in a very extraordinary form in the Nandi inscription of Udayavarmān (No 7) the loop being attached to the top strokes so that the letter is hardly to be distinguished from *ma*. This form, as far as I know is not found anywhere else. A looped *na* is still used in the Bhakund inscription (No 21) but in the ordinary Śarada the loop has been replaced by a slightly slanting stroke to the proper right of the vertical. In the later inscriptions (No 34 and Bijnāth) the letter slants to the right.

In the older Śarada inscriptions *pa* has the same shape as in the Gupta period. Later it becomes more angular but on the whole it preserves its ancient form. It is distinguished from *sa* by the absence of a cross bar, from *ma* by the absence of a loop, and from *ca* by the absence of a top-stroke and loop. In Takari and Gurmukhi *pa* has preserved the same shape which it has in Śarada.

The *akṣara pha* differs from its Mūlyā ancestor only in that it has a top stroke and its curve is sometimes developed into a loop. It may easily be confused with *pha* which is slightly more angular. Instances of *pha* will be found in No 7 (*phala*), No 13 l 8 (*divapha*), No 16 (*phalam*), No 21 (*Phalgum*), No 30 (*Phala*), No 31 l 3 (*phala*), l 6 (*asphalyo*). In Gurmukhi and Takari the letter differs but little from the Śarada, its shape being similar to that of Devanagari *dha*.

Bühler remarks that as *va* was very generally pronounced *ba* the ancient sign for *ba* was lost in Northern India. It was replaced by *va* in the inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries. The Devanagari has developed a new character for *ba* but in Śarada only one sign is used for both. The only inscription in which as far as I can see a distinction is made between *ba* and *va* is the Devī Muktī *prasasti* (No 31). There we find that *ba* (l 6 *balah*) and *bu* (l 16) have a rounded shape whereas *va* (*passim*) is angular. But I must add that *ba* in *bahu* (l 18) is decidedly angular. It will be seen subsequently that in some inscriptions we notice a difference between *ba* and *va* in ligatures. In my transcripts I have throughout employed the letter required by the case.

The *akṣara bha* appears in Śarada in two forms, either with an inverted wedge or with an open triangle. The wedged form which is the older of the two is in general used in the stone inscriptions and that with the triangle in copper plates. In both cases the letter differs but slightly from *ba* with which it may be easily confused. As in less carefully executed inscriptions the triangle becomes more open and less defined the *bha* becomes very similar to *ha* (Cf No 28). In the Devāśeṣa and the modern alphabets the triangle has become a triangular loop but for the rest the letter has remained the same.

In the inscriptions of Meru vāman *ma* has the cursive loop which is also found in the Nagari letter and according to Bühler appears from the 8th century. In the Śarada such a loop is only met with in exceptional cases (No 21 *manā*). Usually it has either a slight projection of the horizontal to the left (Nos 13 15 21 25 26 also *Ind Pol* pl V 34 I) or a knob (No 31). It will be seen that in the latter case the horizontal slants downward and is attached to the foot of the vertical. Here the *ma* has become identical with *ca* except for the absence of a top stroke. It is curious that in the Devāśeṣa *ma* appears again with a loop (No 16). This loop is rounded like that of *ca* whereas *sa* and *va* have triangular loops. As the shape of the loop and the top stroke are the only means of distinguishing those letters, there is ample room for confusion. In Takari the *ma* has undergone a considerable modification as here the horizontal has become connected with the top of the vertical, so that the letter has assumed the appearance of Roman *m*. The same

Kiehlorn (*J. A. S.* Vol XVII p 8) notes that in the copper plate grant of Śonāvarma and Vatsa (No 20) *ba* is everywhere noted by the sign for *va*.

corrupt Sanskrit the real meaning of the *visarga* is misunderstood and it is regularly used as a sign of punctuation to separate words and sentences (Cf Nos 38 and 33).

It is one of the most notable characteristics of the Śarada that we find the *jhramuṇya* and *upadhmuniya* used with great regularity (Cf however No 24 l 18). I may note that in the Chamba inscriptions of the Muhammadan period these two characters are no longer used. The *jhramuṇya* occurs in the Lalana image inscription of Meruvaruṇ (No 5) in a shape very similar to that of the *va* of Nāgarī. It has the same rounded form in the Chamba inscriptions (No 13, l 6, No 14 ll 6-14, No 15 l 5, No 24 l 20, No 25 l 13, No 26 l 7). This form occurs also in the Bakṣhālā MS (*Ind Ant* XVII p 277) and is identical with the *jhramuṇya* of the Lohar *prasasti* of c. A.D. 900 (*Ind Pal* pl V 47, III). In the Baijnāth *prasastis* on the contrary we find a distinctly angular form, very similar to the *sa* as found in those same inscriptions (*Ind Pal* pl V 47 I, but cf Baijnāth I 3). We have already had occasion to notice the preference given to angular forms in the *prasastis* of Baijnāth.

The *upadhmuniya* has in the older Śarada inscriptions the shape of the figure 8 laid sideways (No 13 l 2, No 15 l 98). It closely resembles the corresponding symbol of early Gupta inscriptions (*Ind Pal* pl IV 46 III) and occurs in exactly the same form in the Pchoa *prasasti* (*Ind Pal* pl V 48 III). But in the Chamba epigraphs of the 11th and 12th centuries we find a very different type, which can be best described as a Śarada *na* with a horizontal line beneath (No 25 l 2, No 26 l 1, No 31 ll 1-17, No 34 l 16). It is also found in the Baijnāth *prasastis* (*Ind Pal* pl V 48 I). It is interesting that both these later forms of *jhramuṇya* and *upadhmuniya* show a close relationship with the corresponding signs found in the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa inscription of c. A.D. 600 (*Ind Pal* pl IV 16 XV and XVI). In the spurious plate of Viḍiḍḍha (No 16) which was apparently copied from a genuine record the *upadhmuniya* has been replaced by *sa*.

Bühler observes that the *visarga* first appears in Gupta inscriptions of the 5th century as a horizontal stroke above the small final (No 13 l 2, No 15 l 98). In the earlier acute angled epigraphs the *visarga* is still frequently placed over the vowelless consonant and receives a tail which is drawn downwards to the right of the *matra*. But more commonly it stands beneath the consonant. The Śarada has preserved the more ancient tailed form. It is found in the Bakṣhālā MS (*Ind Pal* pl VI, 51 I III) as a long drawn slanting stroke run through the right end of the top stroke. In the Chamba inscriptions it has the same appearance but is considerably shorter. It should be noticed that in the earlier inscriptions the *alsaras* with which the *visarga* is combined often appear in a modified form. The *t* becomes a mere curve (No 13 ll 6-13, 18, No 24 l 24, No 26 ll 11-17, 20) sometimes doubled (No 13 l 8). The *m* is expressed by a dot either open or closed to which the *visarga* is attached (No 13, ll 2, 5-12, 15-16, 0, No 15 ll 11, 21, 23-24, 26, No 24 l 21, No 26 ll 10-20 but in l 21 the full letter is used). In No 26 l 12 there is an instance of *t* with *visarga*. It resembles the Śarada numeral 'six'. In the Bakṣhālā MS final *t* is expressed by the full *alsara* with the long drawn

uana just noticed. In the Devanāgarī *prasasti* (No 31) we find the complete *aksara* e.g. *m* II 8 12 13 14 15 also No 34 I 6 (Cf *61*, No 35 I 4). We find the *uana* still used in the same manner in documents of the Muhammadian period (Cf *Kila gī* II 1 10 *dattam drangantarat* also I 13).

B The medial vowels

Medial *a* is *s* in the earlier acute-angled inscriptions expressed in Śāradā by a wedge or in the case of documents on metal by a serif attached to the top of the consonant on the right side. In the earlier inscriptions we have to note a peculiar manner of attaching this vowel sign to certain consonants distinguished by a double top. In the Śāradā *prasasti* (No 13) we find that the *a* sign in *pa*, *ya* *sa* and *sa* (not *me*) either single or combined with a subscribed consonant is attached by means of a horizontal top stroke not to the top of the vertical, but to the other left hand top end. The vertical is slightly shortened above so as to remain free from this top stroke. The same applies to the combination of these four consonants with *o* and *au* in the case of *o* of course not if the super-scribed sign is used.

In the oldest copper plate (No 14) this peculiarity does not occur. In Viḍagdhā's copper plate (No 15) on the contrary the long top stroke is found in *pa* *ya* *so* and *so* (also in *ha* *ta* *ues* and if combined with *o* and *au*) but occasionally we find in *pa* (II 7 10 21 and 24) and in *sa* (II 25 and 26) the vowel sign attached direct to the top of the vertical. In the later inscription of Viḍagdhā's first year (No 17) we notice the same vacillation in *so* but *pa* has throughout the long top stroke. The *aksaras* *ya* and *sa* do not occur in this inscription. In the later documents the wedge or serif indicating *a* is invariably attached to the top of the vertical. This is already the case in the fragmentary inscription of Queen Didda. We may therefore assume that the practice just noted dropped out of use about A.D. 1000. It seems indeed to have been an ephemeral and perhaps local peculiarity of which as far as I know no instances are found either in earlier or later inscriptions. In the inscriptions of Meruvarman in any case, the *a* sign is always attached to the top of the vertical. The only exception is *sa* in *Asadha* (Gum inscription No 9 I 3) but here it is evidently due to the peculiar modification of the *mat* *ka* which has lost the upper portion of its main vertical.

Special notice may be drawn to the *aksaras* *na* *ta* and *na* in which the long *a* is expressed by a small hook or semi-circle with its concave side turned downwards. It is curious that in the Gupta inscriptions we find the vowel sign of *ta* represented by a mark similar in shape but turned the opposite way. The *na* notwithstanding the considerable modifications of the *mat* *ta* itself retains its hook shaped *a* all through the Śāradā. It is only in the Muhammadian period that the hook develops into a tail continued beneath the consonant. This will be seen on the spurious plate of Viḍagdhā (No 16) edited in this volume. In the Buḡnath *prasasti* (II 10) we find the *a* in *na* expressed by a loop.

The Śāradā *ya* has preserved a very archaic type as the vowel mark consists of a prolongation of the central stroke, as found in the oldest Brahmi. It is turned upwards so as to form nearly a straight angle with the stroke to which it is attached, in the same manner as in the Gupta and acute-angled alphabets. The form with *a*

differs moreover, from the single consonant in that it drops the top stroke and wedge peculiar to the *matika*. Then about A D 1200 a change takes place first noticeable in the Bijnath *prasthis* where the *a* of *pa* is represented by a hook some times similar to that found in *na to* and *na*, but more commonly prolonged downward so as to touch the central. In one case (II 12) again we find the vowel-mark represented by a little triangle hanging down from the top stroke. In the Muhammadan period the equalizing tendency leads to the *pa* being rendered by the *matrka* provided with the ordinary vowel mark. On the copper plates of this period this has assumed the shape of a little semi-circular stroke turned upwards and attached to the top stroke or to the top of the vertical. Instances will be seen on the spurious plate of Vidagdha (No 16). The *na* as already noted forms an exception as here the *a* is expressed by a tail attached to the right of the *matrka* and continued below.

In general medial *i* and *u* are rendered by a curve drawn down respectively to the left and right of the *matika*. In some documents, however, the vowel mark is occasionally placed over the consonant in the ancient fashion of the Kusana and Gupta periods. Examples are found in the Saruhan *prasthi* (No 18 l 1, < *a nah*, etc.) in the Banota fountain inscription of the reign of Soma-varman (No 23), and in the copper plate inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries in which medial *i* and *u* are often hardly distinguishable from medial *e* (No 26 l 16 *pralipadita* and l 21 *lilhitam*). We may assume that about A D 1200 the superscribed medial *i* and *u* dropped out of use. In the Laj inscription of A D 1105-6 the superscribed *i* is still found in *thripitam* (No 28, ll 2, 3 and 4). The latest example is afforded by the Su fountain inscription (No 35).

Medial *u* is expressed in two ways—1st by a wedge which on copper plates assumes the shape of a short stroke or hook attached to the lower end of the vertical stroke on the left side or, in the case of *au du phu gu* (only in ligatures) and *hu*, connected with the bottom of the consonant by means of a short vertical line. 2nd, by a curve which is in reality the sign for initial *u*. In the older inscriptions the former practice is by far the more common. It is regularly found in *cu* (No 25, l 23), *chu* (No 25 l 12), *tu* (No 15 l 10 No 31 l 2) *nu* (in *sunu* No 13, l 3) *thu* (No 13 l 3, in *ttlu*, No 25 l 21) *du*, *dhu* (No 13, l 17) *au* (No 13 l 9) *pu* *phu* (No 34 l 13, in *sphu*, No 13 l 5, No 24 l 9) *bu* (No 13 l 11), *mu* (No 13 l 5), *gu* (No 13, l 9 in *guu*, No 13 l 2), *lu* (No 24, l 5) *vu* (?) *eu* (in *Isu* No 13 l 14) *su* (No 13, l 6) and *hu* (No 13, l 9). The curved *u* is peculiar to the *al-saras lu gu du* (in *ndu* No 13 l 10) *lu hhu* and *su*. It should be noticed that in the older inscriptions either of the two methods is applied to a certain set of consonants.

Already in the epigraphs of the 11th and 12th centuries the curved *u* is now and then substituted for the wedged one e.g., in *nu* (No 33 l 2), *sunu* (No 33 l 3) and *ihu* (No 24, l 26).

This tendency becomes still more apparent in the Mul Kihar inscription (No 34) where the curve is used in *pu* (l 10), *mu* (l 13), *lu* (l 12) and *hu* (l 9). But side by side with those forms we find *mu* (ll 12 and 16) and *lu* (l 19, also in *plu* l 18) with the wedged vowel sign. In the Bijnath *prasthis* the use of the

curved medial *u* has become further extended. It is very often found in *dhu* (I, l 27, but cf I, l 30), *du* (I l 21, but cf II, ll 10, 12 and *ndu* II l 10) *nu* (I, ll. 19 31, but cf II, l 5), *pu* (I, ll 11 13, 24, 25, but cf I, l 15 II, l 4), *bu* (I, l 22 but cf II, l 12), *mu* (I, ll 5, 6 16, 25, 31, but cf I, l 6, II ll 5, 6), *gu* (I, ll 6 7 10, also in *ygu* I, l 19 and *nyu* I, l 2; II, ll 24 and 29, but cf II ll 4, 8, 9, *bhyu* II, l 5 and *nyu* II, l 9) *su* (I, ll 7 27, 30, also in *ssu* I, l 24 but cf I, 27, II, 12 and *ssu* II, 6), and throughout in *hu*. Besides, the curved *u* is as in the older Sarada inscriptions exclusively used in *vu*, *gu*, *tu* *bhu* and *su*. It occurs also in *dhu* (I l 31) which is wanting in the older inscriptions and in *nu* (I, 8) for which, as we saw in Chamba also the curved sign is occasionally used.

The history of medial *u* in Sarada runs parallel to that of medial *u*, but as the long vowel sign is less frequent than the short one, the development cannot be traced so clearly. The Sarada has two methods of rendering medial *u*—1st a curved or wavy, flag-like line sometimes slightly slanting attached to the lower end of the vertical on the left or connected with the letter by means of a short vertical stroke, 2nd by the subscribed sign for initial *u*. In the older inscriptions the wavy line is by far the more common. It is found in *chu* (No 25 l 15) *du* (No 14 l 19, No 19, l 7), *dhu* (No 31 l 19), *pu* (No 13, l 4, No 14, l 7 No 15 l 12), *mu* (No 13, l 2, No 14, l 3), *yā* (No 15 l 16) *lu* (No 24, l 5), *su* (No 24 l 9) *su* (No 13 l 4, and in *tsu* No 14 l 17) and *hu* (No 24 l 5). The curved *u*, on the contrary appears only in *lu* (No 24 l 7) and *bhu* (No 13 l 13, No 14, l 2, also in *bhu*, No 13 l 9). In the Mul-Kihar inscription (No 34), however, we find it used in *su* (ll 1 11) and *su* (l 10) and in the Baijnath *prasastis* it occurs in *dhu* (I l 5, but cf II, l 12) *pu* (II, ll 9, 24, II, 5, 26) *bhu* (II, ll 5 26), *mu* (I, ll 5 25, 32, but cf *mu* II, l 1) and *su* (I l 29). It is the same tendency to substitute the younger form for the older one, which we observe both in medial *u* and *u*.

The groups *vu* and *vu* deserve special notice. In the Sarahan inscription (No 13 ll 6 8, 13 15) we find them rendered by the *matika* with the subscribed initial vowel mark. It is very curious that we find exactly the same sign for *vu* in the early Gupta inscriptions of Allahabad and Kairatm which—it should be noted—both exhibit the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet and also in that of Amśu varman of A.D. 635 which proves its occurrence in Nepal. In the Sarada, however, the *ahsara vu* becomes very soon modified. Already in the earliest Chamba copper plates we find it expressed by the *matrkā* with a flag attached to the right, about the middle of the vertical. This is the common form found in all Sarada inscriptions (Cf No 16, l 9, No 24 l 12 No 26 ll 3, 16, No 32, l 20). In Vidagdha's grant (No 15 ll 2, 3, 4) we find the flag attached to the top stroke. In the Devāsari the flag becomes more prominent (Cf No 16, l 9 and *Kulv grant*, l 10 *Puṇḍa*). Here the *vu* resembles the Sarada *va*. The *ahsara vu* on the contrary, retains the form which we find in the Sarahan inscription, though the vertical becomes considerably shortened so that it is hardly to be distinguished from initial *u*. We find it in the Bakhshali MS. as well as in the Mul Kihar inscription (No 34 ll 10, 14) and in the Baijnath *prasasti* (I, l 21).

The vowel is rendered by a slanting stroke to the proper left (as in *vu*) in the following ligatures which are found in the Baijnath *prasasti* *sru* (I, l 15), *dru*

(I 1 24) *āḥu* (II 1 1^o) *tu* (II 1 13) and *adhu*. The Mul Kibar inscription (No 31) has analogous forms in *ssu* (l 17) and *su* (l 20). Of the group *bhuv* we find an instance in the Sarāhan *prasasti* (l 9) and *bhu* is found in No 24 l 2 and No 25 l 3.

I may observe in this connection that in *tu* and *kr*—as well as in ligatures (except as lower member)—the *r* has preserved its ancient type without a loop (Cf *tu* No 13 *passim* *ut* No 13 l 11 *tu* No 32 ll 8 16 17. *sl* No 13 ll 5 9 *tu* No 13 l 1^r). This peculiarity which is common to the acute angled script and to the Sarada is still found in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (Cf No 16 and *Kutub grant*).

As regards medial *r* Bühler mentions its angular shape as one of the peculiar developments of the Sarada. I must however, point out that this shape is only found in the later inscriptions. In the Sarāhan *prasasti* we find sometimes (*ś* l 6) a curve very similar to that indicating medial *r* in the Gupta and Nagari alphabets. The only difference is that it is more closed. In other cases (*t=kr* l 15 and *p* l 20) it is slightly more angular. In the grant of Yugalakṛ (No 14) we find *r* pronounced a gular form in *ru* (l 2) but in all other instances the *r* is either rounded (*t* l 9 *bh* l 16) or squarish (*t* ll 11 16 17 and 18). In the charter of Viḍagdha (No 15) *r* occurs no less than 14 times, but in each case it is expressed by a curved loop very similar to subscribed *ya*. In the copper plates of the 11th century *r* still retains its rounded shape but it is more open (Cf No 24 ll 2, 12 and 17 *kr*, and l 13 *sp*; No 26 l 3 and 10 *kr* and l 14 *gr* and *vr*). Only in No 26 l 3 do we find a slightly angular form. In the 12th century a distinct angular *r* occurs all through the Devanāgarī *prasasti* (No 31 ll 8 16 17 *kr* l 10 *vr*). It is very curious that in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period we find the rounded *r* again. The angular form, therefore far from being a characteristic of the Sarada, is only an ephemeral phenomenon apparently limited to the 12th century.

Medial *e* is expressed either by a *prathamāṭṭa* i.e. a wedge attached to the top of the consonant on the left or by a stroke over it. In the older inscriptions this stroke closely resembles the Devanagari sign for medial *e* but later it becomes straight and horizontal.

In the Sarāhan *prasasti* the *prathamāṭṭa* is the more common. It is combined with the *matras* *i* *ca* *ta* *da*, *dha*, *na* *ma* *va* *va* and *sa* (in *syē*) and also in ligatures in which these consonants take the first place. The superscribed vowel mark is found in *ge* (and *gme*) *ne* (in *nce*) *ye* and *le* whilst in *je* and *ve* either of the two occurs. Of the 54 cases in which medial *e* occurs in this inscription the *prathamāṭṭa* is used 38 and the superscribed sign 16 times the proportion being nearly 70% to 30%.

In the copper plates of Yugalakṛ and Viḍagdha (Nos 14 and 15) on the contrary the wedged *e* is of much less frequent occurrence than the superscribed one. In the former plate the proportion is about 26% to 74% in the latter 22% to 78%. The two marks are used indiscriminately in combination with the same consonants. The superscribed *e* is either horizontal or slanting.

It is very curious that in the copper plates of the 12th century the balance changes again in favour of the ancient *prathamā*. In that of Somavarma (No 24) this sign is still in the minority, the proportion being 39% to 61%, but in those of Somavarma-Asata (No 25) and Asata (No 26) it has gained the predominance over its rival. The proportion is 57% and 43% in the one and 77% and 23% in the other inscription. This revival of the *prathamā* may have been due merely to an archaic inclination on the part of the authors of these grants. In the inscriptions of the 12th century the *prathamā* drops almost entirely out of use. In the Sar inscription it is not used in the Devanāgarī inscriptions only once (No 33 *deva*). In the Mal Kibba inscription (No 34) the superscribed vowel mark is used exclusively. This is also the case with all inscriptions of the Muhammadan period. It should, however, be noticed that the two marks are still used side by side in the Barguth *prasasti* but as Bühler remarks the ancient *prathamā* is used only occasionally, whereas the medial *e* is mostly represented by a thick horizontal or slightly slanting stroke.

Apparently the *prathamā* was still in use in Kashmir in the first half of the 15th century at least in legal documents. This is expressly stated in the chronicle of Jonaraja, who lived in the reign of Sultan Zunūl 'Abidin and died A D 1439-60¹. The chronicle relates that his grandfather Landaraja in the year of his death sold one *prastha* of land. After his death the purchasers 'doctored' the deed of sale (*Śrī vikāya pattiśā*) so as to make it appear that not one but ten *prasthas* had been sold to them. The words *bhūprasthām eśam vikṛitam* they made into *bhūprastha-dasam vikṛitam*. In order to express the *e* following a consonant 'the author explains the clerks used formerly to write a stroke behind the consonants. But as in the course of time the script (*bṛh*) became changed the writers of to day write the stroke expressing *e* over the consonant'. The impostors could therefore, easily change the ancient vowel sign of *me* into *da*. The *ma* they converted into *sa* (not *śa*). The wise sultan however discovered the fraud by immersing the larch bark document in water, by which the fresh additions disappeared. In this manner the chronicle concludes—

‘ The king got glory & the land
The frauder punishment save
The subjects of the king delight
And round out the wicked fair ’

This episode is of great interest not only as an instance of Zunūl 'Abidin's sagacity, but also as a proof that up to the 15th century the vowel mark *e* was indicated in Kashmir practically in the same manner as in the days of Aśoka.

In the older Sarada inscriptions—the Śaśira *prasasti* and the copper plates of the 10th and 11th centuries—the medial *ai* is throughout rendered by a combination of the two signs used to express medial *e*, in other words by a *prathamā* combined with a superscribed stroke. This is also found in the inscription of Queen Bhadrā

¹ *Paṭiśa* Śaśira *śaśira* (I 6)

Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini* (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. LIV 1896) v. 102b.37. J. C. Dutt in his translation *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India* Vol. III, 1896, p. 102, remarks that the passage is

(I 6 *ta*) where the superscribed stroke is slightly shifted backward owing to want of room. It should be noted that in the earliest inscriptions, as in the case of medial *e*, the superscribed stroke is slanting and often rests with its right end on the top of the consonant. In the copper plates of the 11th century the line has become horizontal.

In the added portion of the grant of Soma-varman and Āsata (No 25 l 29 *traa*) we find the first instance of the double superscribed stroke, which gradually becomes the only way of expressing medial *ai*.¹ We may assume the change to have occurred about A.D. 1100. Both in the Devan-kōṭhi and Mul-Kihar inscriptions the double stroke is used exclusively. In the Bajnath *prastāva* we find again both methods but the two horizontal lines are the more common. It seems indeed that the *prathamā* is only used if there is not sufficient room above the consonant for a double stroke. In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period the medial *ai* is invariably expressed by the two horizontal lines.

In the Sauran *prastāva* medial *o* is expressed in not less than three different ways. First of all we find the ancient method of two wedges attached to both sides of the top of the letter. In one case (*to* l 7) we find the left-hand wedge attached not to the top stroke but to the curve of the letter proper. The second method consists of a wedge to the proper left combined with a superscribed *e* stroke. Lastly we meet with that peculiar superscribed flourish which is first found in the Kusana inscriptions. Of these three methods the one first mentioned is the most common in the Sauran inscription. Out of the 33 cases in which medial *o* occurs in this record it is 19 times expressed in the first, 4 times in the second and 10 times in the third manner. The proportion is therefore 58%, 12% and 30%.

In the early copper plates the proportion suddenly changes in favour of the second method. It is universally used in Yaṅgaka's grant (No 14) except in two doubtful cases (*yo* l 1 and *mo* l 15) in which respectively, the two wedges and the flourish seem to occur. In Viḍagha's plate (No 15), on the contrary, the superscribed *o* sign is used in 42 out of the 58 cases, whilst the combination of the *e* wedge and the superscribed *e* stroke is found 10 times and the two wedges only once (*to* l 29).

On the copper plates of the 11th century we find medial *o* still expressed in the three ways mentioned above. In that of Soma-varman (No 24) the figures are 1, 13 and 7 out of a total of 24 or 17%, 54% and 29%. In the grant of Soma-varman and Āsata (No 25) we have 2, 4 and 14 or 10%, 20% and 70% and in that of Āsata (No 26) 6, 13 and 22 or 14%, 32% and 51%. Notwithstanding frequent variations it will be seen that gradually the superscribed flourish becomes the typical expression of medial *o*, whereas the double wedge is but exceptionally used.

The inscriptions of the 12th century exhibit clearly the progress of this equalizing process. In the Devan-kōṭhi *prastāva* (No 31) medial *o* is expressed throughout by the superscribed mark, except only once (*to* l 7) where we find the second method used, evidently because the *ai* *śara* immediately above did not

¹ In the plate of Soma-varman (No 24 l 10) we find *ai* with apparently two strokes *o* or *t* but probably one is meant for an *auśara* and we have to read it *ai* *śara* *ai* not *ai*.

leave sufficient room for the other sign. This is of interest as showing that the older methods or at least one of them were still known to the writer. He deliberately prefers the superscribed flourish which is both more distinct and more ornamental than the older signs. It will also be noticed that the flourish has considerably changed in shape. It bears a close resemblance to the *maḥ* used in Arabic and Persian to indicate long *alif*. Bühler compares it to the Greek encumflex.

In the Mūl Kihir inscription (No 31) we find the superscribed flourish used throughout, it has here the same shape as in the Devan Kothī *prasasti*. We may therefore assume that in the second half of the 13th century this sign became universally adopted. It is curious however that in the Baijnāth *prasasti* a few cases still occur where medial *o* is expressed by *e* either superscribed or *prasthamatic*, plus *o*. But in the great majority of cases we find the flourish of the Devan Kothī and Mūl Kihir inscriptions. This remains the typical *maḥ* for medial *o* in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (see No 16 *passim* and *Kulu grant*) in the literary Śarada of Kāśmīr and in the modern Talim.

In the Śarabān *prasasti* we find medial *au* expressed three times (*ī sa* l 11 *ga* l 17 and *ta* l 17) by the double wedge and the superscribed slanting *o* stroke. In the same inscription medial *au* is rendered ten times by the superscribed *o* plus the *a* stroke. Once (*sa* l 7) the wedge has been erroneously placed on the left side of the consonant. Both methods are applied to the same letters (Cf *ga* l 11 and 17).

We may assume that the first mentioned method dropped out of use at a very early date perhaps about the middle of the 10th century, as it is not met with in any other Śarada inscription. Thus with the one exception noted medial *au* is expressed throughout by a combination of the superscribed flourish and the *a* maḥ. It remains only to be noted that the flourish undergoes here the same modification as has been pointed out in the case of medial *o*.

C. Ligatures

Pegarding the ligatures in Śarada it may be observed that in general the constituent elements can still be easily recognised and have preserved their original forms better than in the corresponding Nagari characters. In this respect also the Śarada shows itself more conservative. The second consonant is always placed below the first one. Here I wish to draw attention only to those ligatures which are remarkable for their peculiar development.

The *al sa* l 6 preserves as the upper or centum member of ligatures (as in *ī v* and *ī*), its ancient form without a loop (Cf *līa* No 13 l 3, *īya* No 13 l 6, *īsa* No 13, ll 7 8 9, 16, *īia* No 13 l 10, *īta* No 13 l 11 cf also *Ind Pal* pl VI, 19, VIII and IX). This is still the case in the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period (Cf *līa* in No 16 l 1, *īra* and *īsa* in *Kulu grant* l 1). In Nagari we find the unlooped *lā* only in the ligatures *līa* (*līia*) and *īsa*, in the latter in a considerably modified form. As the lower member of a ligature *īa* appears in its looped shape *e g* in *līa* (No 13, l 6), *ūa* (No 13, ll 10 and 19), *īa* (No 13, l 7) and *sīa* (No 15, l 15).

Subscripted *ā* appears in Śarada in the same form as in the acute-angled alphabet. It differs considerably from the *maḥīa* and resembles most closely the

Sardaṅgī (Cf No 10, ll 11 22, No 32 l 9, *saṃjā*, also *Ind Pal* pl V, 50 IX) For the Devanagari of *Kulu grant* l 11 *rajā*

The *al* *sa* *ta* as the second letter of ligatures retains its normal form in the Sardaṅgī *prastha* (No 13 l 5 *nta* ll 5 17 *sti*) But in all later inscriptions it assumes a shape closely resembling that of the medial *u* of Nagari. Thus subscribed *ta* consists of a curve nearly semi-circular and open to the right (evidently the original *waṭiṭa*, and a tail attached to the foot of the upper consonant and sloping down to the right. On copper plates these two elements can usually still be distinguished (Cf No 10 l 7 *stra* No 10 l 21 *staa* No 15 ll 1, 10, 11, 18 *sta*) The ligature *tha* forms an exception as here the second *ta* is usually expressed by a single curve (No 16 l 5, No 24 ll 18, 20 23, No 26, ll 1, 5 6, 11) It is curious that in Vidyābhāṣa-grant the second *ta* in *tha* is rendered in the same manner as in other ligatures (No 13 ll 1, 5) The same peculiarity is found in the Kulu grant (ll 1, 3 and 11) though separated from the other by nearly six centuries. In the last quoted instance (*hatta*) we have a looped form which elsewhere in this inscription is used for subscribed *tha* (l 11 *siestha*)

Subscribed *tha* appears in the older Sardaṅgī inscriptions in a shape closely resembling the *va* (Cf No 10, l 10 *stha*) but usually a tail is added to the right of the foot of the vertical (Cf No 15, l 10 *stha* l 24 *sthe* No 17, l 6, No 19, l 3 *sthi*) In the copper plate grants of the 11th century we find a form practically identical with that of subscribed *ta* mentioned above. The only difference is that the tail is somewhat shorter (Cf No 24 l 8 *stha* and l 20 *stha*) In the Kulu grant as just noted we find a looped form (l 11 *stha*, l 14 *sthi*)

Of special interest are in Sardaṅgī those ligatures of which *tha* is the second letter. In the earlier inscriptions we find *tha* expressed by a spiral or inward curve drawn from left to right (Cf No 13 l 16 *tsiṭha*, l 7 *ttha*, No 15 l 6 *stha*, ll 13 18 *sthi* l 17 *uttha*, No 16 *stha*) We find this form still used in the copper plate grants of the 11th century (No 25 l 13 *stha*, l 16 *ntiṭha* No 26, l 16 *sthi* l 17 *utthya* l 18 *ntiṭha* N B *stha* No 26 l 8) But, side by side with this form, we find another in which the curve is turned outward to the left, so that the subscribed *tha* assumes the appearance of a capital Roman S (Cf No 24 l 15 *stha* No 26 l 7 *stha* l 11 *sthi*) In the 12th century we find only the latter form, but as an innovation a stroke is attached to the foot of the *waṭiṭa* and sloping down to the right (Cf No 31, l 16 *ntiṭha* l 18 *ntiṭha* l 22 *sthi*, l 24 *stha*) It will be seen that here the subscribed *tha* has the appearance of medial *u* in the older inscriptions. This type is preserved during the Muhammadan period (No 16 l 8 *sthi* *Kulu grant* ll 9 10 *prastha*) Here I wish to draw special attention to the peculiar form of *tha* (No 13 ll 8 9 16 No 15 ll 19 27 28, No 28 l 3 *ithe*, No 31, l 16 *ntiṭha* l 18 *ntiṭha* *Kulu grant* l 13 *stham*) It will be seen that in the later examples the *va* has been reduced to a wedge from which the subscribed *tha* hangs down. It is remarkable that this form of *stha* occurs already in the Bakhshali MS (*Ind Pal* pl VI 50 VIII) where the tail is considerably lengthened and the *al* *sa* closely resembles *va*

In the inscriptions of the Muhammadan period we meet with a curious curvilinear form of *al* *sa* as second member of ligatures. It is rendered by a loop with a

horizontal stroke to the right attached at the foot of the *matika* (Cf No 16 l 5 *qdh* and *Kulu grant* l 11 *ndha* and l 13 *ndho*). It is hardly distinguishable from subscribed *tha* as found in the same inscriptions (*Kulu grant* l 11 *stha*). For the old form of *nika* cf No 13 l 15.

Bühler remarks that in the acute-angled alphabet the subscript *ya* is made ornamental and drawn far to the left. Since the 7th century the right hand up stroke of *ya* is lengthened as far as the upper line of the whole sign (*Ind Pal* p 56). The peculiarity described is well illustrated in the inscriptions of Meruvarman (Nos 5-7) where the subscribed *ya* like medial *i* is made rectangular. In *vya* (No 5 l 2) we find the serif indicating *a* attached to the end of the upstroke. The Gum inscription (No 9) shows a transition to the Śāradā in which subscribed *ya* is expressed by a curve extended to the left but with hardly any upstroke (No 11 l 3 *nya* No 15 l 2 *nyo*). This of course is not a secondary development from the acute-angled type but is in reality the old form of the later Kusana and Gupta periods. The subscript *ya* with long upstroke was apparently only the result of temporary fashion and was in all probability exclusively used in highly ornamental inscriptions. It deserves notice that in the Śākta image inscription (No 8) the simpler form is used. In the Baijnāth *prasasti* the subscribed *ya* is more open and less elongated than in the earlier inscriptions so that its shape approaches that of a semi-circle open to the right. But in the later inscriptions the type differs but little from that found in the Śāradā.

It is one of the peculiar features of the Śāradā to which Bühler has drawn attention that the *ra* as a first part of ligatures is inserted into the left side of the second letter just as in the Apsāli inscription and on Harsa's copper plates. It is usually slightly shortened (Cf No 13 ll 7-8 *ra* *rti* passim *rti* l 9, *idha* ll 1, 3, *ya* l 14 *ibha* ll 8-10-17 *ibha* l 17 *va* ll 4-16 No 15, l 11 *idha*, l 16 *idham*, No 21, l 23 *idha* No 26, l 6 *idha*). It will be noticed that in the Śāradā inscription *ra* differs but little from *la* and that *idhi* is very similar to *ra*, which has a slight horizontal stroke over the lower letter. In Vidagdha's grant (No 15) the form of *ra* deserves special notice. In the Devāsena inscriptions also we find such ligatures expressed in exactly the same manner, though here the *ra* has a distinct triangle at its foot (Cf No 16 l 4 *rti* l 5 *ma* l 8 *ra*).

The ligatures *ra* *lla* *idha* and *ya* deserve special notice as here the *ra* has not preserved its distinctive shape quite as well as in combination with other consonants. The ligature *na* changes with the single *na* (Cf No 13 l 5 No 15 ll 19-20 No 24 ll 8-13, No 26 l 15 and No 31, l 18). In the Devārīkoṭī *prasasti* (No 31) all that remains of *ra* is a wedge from which the *na* (without its upstroke) is suspended. This is also the case in the Baijnāth *prasasti* (Cf *Ind Pal* pl V 15 I). It is remarkable that in the spurious split of Vidagdha (No 16 l 4 *na*) the two elements of the ligature are again much more distinct. The ligatures *rtha* and *idha* have already been referred to above.

Regarding the ligature *ya* in the acute-angled alphabet Bühler observes that until the 9th century it is often expressed by a full *ra* with a subscribed *y*. In the Śāradā we find a slightly different type—a short vertical to which the curve of the *ya* is attached in one continuous stroke. In the Baijnāth *prasasti*

It has been surmised that a series of dates mostly found on Mathura sculptures and belonging to the reigns of the Kusana Kings Kaniska Iluviska and Visulera, refer to the Saptarsi era as in nearly all of them the figure of the year remains below 100. But most authorities agree that more probably they refer to an era founded by Kaniska the starting point of which is still a matter of dispute.

In his note on the Saptarsi era Professor Kielhorn points out that disregarding the hundreds we must add 25 to the year of a date in that era to find the corresponding expired year within one of the centuries of the Kaliyuga, 16 to find the corresponding expired Saka year, 81 to find the corresponding expired northern Vikrama year, and 245 to find the corresponding year of one of the centuries of our own era.

This is well illustrated by the *calcutta* inscription in Chamba town which is dated Vikrama samvat 1717 Śaka samvat 1582 Sastri samvat 36 *Vaṅkha va di* 30 Wednesday *Megastambh* corresponding to the 28th March A.D. 1660.

From an examination of various dates mostly found in MSS. Professor Kielhorn has arrived at the conclusion that since Saptarsi 4300 (A.D. 1224) the Saptarsi era has always like the Śaka year commenced with the month Caitra, and that at least about the last four hundred years the scheme of the lunar months has been invariably the *purnimanta* system. The earliest date however, which Professor Kielhorn examined and which falls in A.D. 1224, worked out properly only with the *amanta* scheme.

It is much to be regretted that in the Chamba inscriptions of the pre Muhammadan period we never find the Vikrama or Śaka era used side by side with that of the Seven Stars so that they form no firm basis for further conclusions regarding the peculiarities of that era before A.D. 1200. Only in one instance (No. 35) do we find the date expressed both in the Śastri year and in the Kaliyuga but unfortunately the two do not agree and we must assume that one of them is wrongly noted.

As regards those inscriptions which are dated in the Śastri era alone there is, of course first of all the uncertainty as to the century to which they refer. As stated above the practice is to omit the hundreds and as soon as the reckoning reaches 100 to start a fresh hundred from 1. In some of the inscriptions we find in addition to the Śastri date the regnal year of the ruling chief. In such cases the century can usually be established with the aid of the external evidence afforded by the Rajatarangini and by the Chamba Vamsavalī to be discussed in the next chapter. The former mentions a few of the Chamba Rājas and the latter document is fairly reliable for the period A.D. 1000-1200. Both supply only approximate dates but suffice in most cases to establish the century in which a certain Rāja ruled. If therefore a document is dated both in the Śastri era and in a regnal year it is possible to fix its date provided the date is correctly noted. Five of the inscriptions in the present volume are dated in the reign of Rājas who apparently belonged to the neighbouring Hill State of Bilal the Vallabha of the Rajputa-

17 A.D. Vol. XX p. 169 ff.

Among the copper plate grants of Rāja Balabhadra of Chamba there is one dated Vikrama 1086 *Śastri* 100. It is the only instance of the Śastri era being noted beyond 100.

rangini Here we have to resort to the Vamśavalī of the Balauna Rajas which is unfortunately even more corrupt and confused than that of Chamba. The document in question will be fully discussed in an Appendix to this volume.

The problem becomes more intricate if the inscription contains only one date. In some cases it is not clear whether the year is a regnal one or refers to the Śistira era. A regnal year supplies in most cases only an approximate date, as the year of accession of only a few of the Chamba rulers can be fixed. If the day of the week is mentioned an attempt can be made to fix the exact date or alternative dates within a certain period.

In case the inscription is only dated according to the Śistira era we have to rely entirely on internal evidence. It will often be possible to find the century in instances in which the day of the week is mentioned. But I need hardly say that the results thus obtained are doubtful, considering that so little is yet known regarding the exact use of the Śistira era in the pre-Muhammadan period. Another question is how far the documents themselves can be trusted. The fountain inscriptions which supply our chief chronological data are almost invariably so full of orthographical and grammatical errors that there is much reason to doubt their accuracy in astronomical matters. In fact in two cases—the Salhi and Sar inscriptions—it can be proved that the dates are wrongly noted. It is singularly unfortunate that in inscriptions like the *prasaṭis* of Devī Kothī (No. 32) and Mūl Kīrā (No. 34) where more reliable information might be expected the portions containing the date are damaged or destroyed.

I now proceed to discuss in detail the conclusions, more or less certain, which can be deduced from the chronological data of our documents.

Three fountain inscriptions at Dadvar (No. 20), Bhakund (No. 21) and Dighra (No. 26) all of them villages belonging to the Cutch *taluka* are dated in the reign of a Raja Trailokyadeva. His name is not found in the Chamba Vamśavalī but occurs twice in that of the Balauna Rajas. In one place he stands as the immediate predecessor of Kalāśa-pala and in the other he is separated from the latter by two reigns. We may assume that he reigned a short time before Kalāśa-pala who can be identified with Kalāśa of Vallapura, a contemporary of Ananta (A.D. 1028-64) and Kalāśa (A.D. 1063-89) of Kāśmīr.² The date of Trailokyadeva would therefore fall in the first half of the 11th century. In two of the three inscriptions mentioned above the date is partly lost. In the third—that of Dadvar—the last portion of the *lagaṣṭha* name is missing but from the remaining part (*Śiṣṭa Trailokyadeva*) it can be restored with certainty. It was in the 17th year of his reign. The preceding *saṃvat* 17 must therefore refer to the Śistira era. In the second line we find the full date *saṃvat* 17 *Jyesthā* *va* *ti* 12 *Bhaspari* *vare* *Revati* *nakṣatre*. The Śistira year 17 must correspond to the year 41 of some century of the Christian era. On the strength of palaeographical evidence we may safely assume that the Dadvar

In the copy which I obtained at Basorj the name is spelt *Trailokyadeva* (ट्रैलोक्यदेव) and pronounced *Trailokyadeva* (ट्रैलोक्यदेव).
Rajast. 111 "20-68" t. 1. l. 5. c. 1. p. 49. and "20-68" t. 1. l. 5. c. 1. p. 49.

In the year given the first day of Pausa according to the Purnimanta system, would correspond to Wednesday 14th November 1103. According to the Amanta system it would be Wednesday 28th November 1103. The date of the Loh inscription lies therefore within the months November and December 1103 and Jasata's accession must have taken place between November 1104 and December 1105.

The Loh Loh inscription (No. 29) enables us to check the conclusion arrived at. It is dated *samvat 9 Jyestha va ti 12*. Here the year cannot be referred to the Saka era as Jasata cannot have reigned either in A.D. 1033 or in A.D. 1133. In A.D. 1133 he and Udaya Varman met and one is Raja of Chamra in the Raja tarangini (A.D. 1083) and Jasata's reign must therefore have previously come to an end. It follows that the year of the Loh Loh inscription can only be a regnal year. As Jasata's accession took place between November 1104 and December 1105, the present date must lie between November 1112 and December 1114.

Within that period *Jyestha va ti 12* if Purnimanta may correspond either to Wednesday 14th May A.D. 1113, or to Sunday 3rd May 1114. In case the Amanta system is followed the alternative equivalent dates will be Thursday 12th June A.D. 1113 and Tuesday 2nd June A.D. 1114. It will be seen that the day of the week only agrees to Sunday 3rd May 1114 on which date moreover the *nakshatra* was Revati as required by the inscription. Professor Kielhorn, who concurred in my conclusions informed me that the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *purnimanta* *Jyestha* ended on that day about 22 hours and the *nakshatra* was Revati for 15 hours 10 minutes after mean sunrise.

As the 3rd May 1106 as well as November-December 1105 fell within Jasata's first regnal year it follows that his accession must have taken place between 4th May and the end of December A.D. 1105.

The next ruler of Chamra of whom epigraphical records exist is Lalita Varman. The Devanagari inscription (No. 32) is dated in the 17th year of his reign but the Saka date is lost. The Salla fountain inscription (No. 33) is dated as follows: *Samvat Lalitavarmanera 17 jagat rajya samvat 27*. It is evident from the *Puravali* that Lalita Varman must have reigned in the 12th century. The date supplied by the Salla inscription ought therefore to enable us to fix the year of his accession. Unfortunately there is reason to doubt the correctness of the notation.

The following is a note by the late Professor Kielhorn in which this date has been fully discussed:—

In my opinion the *Samvat* at present is 16. But as the second figure is doubtful I have examined the *Samvat* of the two Samvat years from 10 to 49. The 11th 12th 13th and 14th centuries A.D. for the years A.D. 1051 53 55 57 and 1061 63 and 1067 69 and 1071 73. In none of the forty years is there a *Samvat* on which the 15th of the *Samvat* half of Sravana is a *Samvat* 17. The *Samvat* at the same time was 16. The *Samvat* of the *Samvat* is 16.

Samvat the 8th Aug. of A.D. 1061 *Samvat* Sravana
Samvat the 21st August A.D. 1064 *Samvat* Uttara
Samvat the 8th Aug. of A.D. 1067 *Samvat* Uttara

There cannot therefore be the slightest doubt that the date of its inscription does fall between A.D. 1100 and 1114 and is correct.

If the *ut* were the 12th of the light half of Śravana the date for Śastriya *amav*at 40 would correspond to Sunday the 26th July A.D. 1170 but even on this day the *nakṣatra* was Pūrvāṣṭha, not Mūla.

If the month of the date were Āśādhā not Śravana the date for the year 46 would regularly correspond to Sunday, the 26th June A.D. 1170 when the 13th *ut* of the bright half ended 1 h 17 m while the *nakṣatra* was Mūla by the equal space system for 1 h 8 m and according to Garga for 0 h 38 m after mean sunrise.

That the Sunday and the Mūla nakṣatra have been correctly quoted seems to me pretty certain because the combination of the two is a very a special occurrence being called *anṛta-yoga*.

It follows from the above that Laṭhī varman's accession probably took place in A.D. 1143 or 1144 and that the date of the Devīnīkoṭhī *prasasti* of his 17th year must be A.D. 1159, 1160 or 1161.

The Devīnīkoṭhī fountain bears another inscription (No. 31) which consists only of the following date *Śrīmad Rāmapāla deva vijaya rajye vartamāna(ne) śarvāt 2 Aṣṭa va ti 8 Bhādrapada(ne)*. It is not evident whether the date refers to the reign of Rāmapāla or to the Śaṣṭi era. In the latter case the corresponding Christian year would be A.D. 1226-7. As the inscription cannot be earlier than the fountain enclosure the date cannot be A.D. 1126-7. Nor is it likely for palaeographical reasons that it would be as late as A.D. 1326-7. If therefore, the year is a Śaṣṭi year the corresponding date would be either Tuesday 15th September or Thursday 15th October A.D. 1226 according to the *amanta* and *purnimanta* system respectively. But in neither of the two cases do we obtain the required day of the week.

Assuming the year to be a regnal one, there exists the likelihood of the inscription being contemporaneous with the fountain enclosure which was built in A.D. 1159, 1160 or 1161. For these three years we get the following dates corresponding to *Aṣṭa va ti 8*: Monday 7th September (*purnimanta*) and Tuesday 4th October (*amanta*) A.D. 1159, Monday 27th August (*purnimanta*) and Sunday, 26th September (*amanta*) A.D. 1160 and Thursday 11th September (*purnimanta*) and Saturday 14th October (*amanta*) A.D. 1161. It will be seen that none of these six dates falls on Wednesday, the day mentioned in the inscription. If, however, we disregard the intercalary month Āśādhā in the last mentioned year in other words if we take *Bhādrapada va ti 8 (purnimanta)* we should obtain Wednesday, the 16th August 1161.

Another question to be noted in this connection is: Who was Rāmapāla in whose reign the inscription is dated? He bears the titles assigned to a ruling chief but his name does not occur in the Vamsavalī of the Chamba Rajas. The cognomen *pāla* raises the presumption that he was a ruler of the neighbouring State of Bālor. In the genealogical list of the Balauna Rajas we find the names *Rāva malla*, *Raja Rāval* and *Aṣṭa malla* which I believe to be all corruptions of *Rāva pāla*. It still remains to explain how the name of this Rāmapāla can occur on a fountain built by a feudatory of Laṭhī varman of Chamba and, as stated in the *prasasti*, in the latter's reign.

The most plausible explanation seems to me that the Balauna Raja conquered Chamba and had his name carved on the fountain of Devīnīkoṭhī, in token of his victory over his Chamba rival. If so it must have happened after A.D. 1170 as Laṭhī varman was in that year still the acknowledged ruler of Pangi. Our chronological

data are unfortunately too vague to allow us to arrive at more certain conclusions.

Another chronological puzzle is furnished by the Sam fountain inscription (No 3a). The date runs thus *Sastirye sanvat 1*
Caritra va ti dasamyam Kalu gatham varsumam 4270
lhasitan (?) 427[?]30 ubhau Kali pramanam 432000 *Simā[d]-Ajaya*
pala deva-ratnaye sanvat

The date is expressed in three different ways in the Sastir era in the Kali-yuga and in the regnal year of Ajayapala. The use of the Kali-yuga is of special interest as it is hardly ever resorted to in epigraphical records¹. Not only is the actual year (i.e. the number of years elapsed) given as 4270 but also the number of the remaining years of the period namely 427,730 (the second 7 has been left out by mistake in the inscription, or may we assume that the mark above is a kind of *tasā* id?) the two figures together yielding 432,000 as the total number of years of which the 'Era of Sam' consists. Kali 1270 corresponds to A.D. 1165-69 or in the case of expired years A.D. 1169-70. The expression *Kalu gatham varsumam 4270* probably stands for *Kaler gata varsum 1270*, in any case the use of the word *gata* indicates that expired years are meant. It is interesting that the same method of noting the remaining years of the Kali-yuga is still followed in calendars used in Kāśmīr.

The date *Caritra va ti 10* of Kali 4270, the year being expired, would correspond to A.D. 1170 March 11 Saturday. There is however reason to doubt the correctness of the date. The Sastir year corresponding to the Kali year 1270 would be 4215 (current) but—strange to say—the inscription shows only traces of one figure which can hardly be anything but the numeral 1². This discrepancy is difficult to explain. The way in which the Kali date is noted shows that there can have been no mistake on the part of the stone mason though he certainly left out a figure in the second number indicating the remaining years of the Kali yuga. May we assume that the author of the inscription who evidently was not a man of great culture noted a wrong year of the Kali yuga or are we to believe that he did not even know the year of the popular Sastir era? The former alternative seems the more plausible.

Assuming then that the Sastir year 1 is correct we should have to choose between 1201 (corresponding to Kali 1227) and 1301 (corresponding to Kali 4327). On account of the character I do not think it possible that the inscription belongs either to the 11th or to the 13th century. It will be noticed that both the numbers 4227 and 4327 have three figures in common with 4270 the Kali year mentioned in the inscription. It is therefore, by no means impossible that the latter has been erroneously substituted for one or other of the two former. The corresponding Christian

¹ I lect. *Chitra* Int. d. 1. 69 footnote. To the instance quoted by Dr Fleet I may add the stone inscription at the temple of Trilokti (Siva) at Manly the capital of the Hill State of the same name dated Saka 1341 Kali yuga 462 (A.D. 1290) and the Kāśmīr (Kāśmīr) stone inscription dated Kal 4230 Sastir sanvat 4 (A.D. 1165) in the *Epigraphia Indica* vol. 11 p. 119 f.

² Unfortunately the Sastir year is also doubtful. It will be noticed that after the partly destroyed symbol *1111* the figure *sa* appears which perhaps meant for a second figure.

dates would be Tuesday 31st March 1121, or Friday 4th April 1225. On account of the script I consider the latter date the more probable of the two.

In the second line we find a third date, expressed in the regnal year of a ruler of the name of Ajaya pala. But after the word *samvat* there is a blank, the figure of the year having been omitted. Ajaya pala bears the full titles of a ruling chief, but his name does not occur in the genealogical roll of the Rajas of Chamba. The surname *-pala* of itself indicates that he did not belong to the house of Musuna. We know however that the chiefs of the neighbouring Hill State of Balor (Skr. Vallabhi) were distinguished by that surname. Their influence over Cutch has already been proved by the inscriptions of Tharlot ya deva. It is therefore not unreasonable to hope that in the present case also the *Tansavali* will help us to solve the problem.

The genealogical list of the Balors contains the name Ajaya pala as fifth descendant of Kalsā pala and as son and successor of Aruna mulla. In another place in the *Tansavali* we find the same name in the Hindu form *Aje Pal* as son of Raja Ranul. I have pointed out above that *Aruna mulla* and *Raja Ranul* are both probably corruptions of *Rana pala* so that in all probability Ajaya-pala was the son and successor of Rana pala whose name occurs in one of the Devan kothu inscriptions (No 31). If this conclusion is correct it would afford fresh proof that at the end of the 12th and in the beginning of the 13th century the Balamia Rajas held temporary sway over Cutch. I may add that the omission of the figure of the regnal year to a certain extent supports my conjecture. The man who composed the inscription would have had no difficulty in ascertaining the year of accession of a local ruler. But the circumstance that the exact duration of Ajaya pala's reign was evidently unknown to the people of Su points to the fact that he was an alien prince whose capital was situated at a considerable distance. The author of the inscription evidently failed to obtain the desired information and the year of Ajaya pala's accession has remained a blank up to the present day.

If then we may assume that the Ajaya pala of the Su inscription was a Raja of Balor we have proof of the Kal date being wrongly noted. For in the years A.D. 1160 and 1170 we find Lohitavman of Chamba as acknowledged hegemon of two Ranas in Cutch and in Pangi. It is therefore highly improbable that in A.D. 1170 a Rana of Su should have been the vassal of the ruler of Balor.

It is to be hoped that fresh epigraphical discoveries in Chamba will add to our chronological material. At present the conclusions arrived at are to a large degree uncertain. Before leaving the subject I wish to note one point. In the Dadvir and Lohitika inscriptions which have yielded more satisfactory results than any of the other epigraphs discussed the dates work out well according to the *puṣyamaśa* system. This renders it probable that this system was followed in connection with the Śāstrī era not only in the Muhammadan period but also in the 11th and 12th centuries.

CHAPTER V — THE CHAMBA VAMSAVALI

From ancient times it has been the custom among the royal and noble families of India to keep a careful record of their pedigree. Kalhana mentions several 'Lists of Kings' which he had consulted when composing his *Rajatarangini*. Eleven works of former scholars he says 'containing the chronicles of the kings I have inspected. Kalhana's book itself is as the name *Rajatarangini* indicates in reality an amplified Vamsavalī of the rulers of Kāśmīr. Inserted in laudatory inscriptions are often found the pedigrees of donors which no doubt had been taken from authentic genealogies. This is definitely stated in the Palam well inscription of the reign of Balhām preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (Catalogue No B 3). After the poet has enumerated both the paternal and maternal pedigrees of the founder of the well and the name of Udhay, he proceeds to say (verse 19)

In the composition known as the Genealogy (*Vamsavalī*) both pedigrees have already been fully described here in this Eulogy (*Prasasti*) the names have only been required to call them to memory. Among the Chamba epigraphs we have an instance of a Vamsavalī in the Mōl Kiln fountain inscription (No 34).

Wilhelm Moorcroft was the first to draw the attention of students of Indian history to the existence of such documents in the Punjab Hills. While staying with the famous Katol Raja Samsar Chand of Kangra, he notes the following: 'Samsar Chand deduces his descent from Mahadeo and has a pedigree in which his ancestors are traced to their celestial progenitor, through many thousand years. I requested to have a copy of this document and some Kishnu Pandits were ordered to transcribe it against my return. The pedigree is written in verse, and contains in general little more than the birth and death of each male individual of the family. It is a well known fact that Moorcroft never returned to take possession of his copy of the Katol Vamsavalī which his noble host had ordered to be prepared for him.

Cunningham fully recognised the historical importance of the Vamsavalīs. In speaking of them of the Katols he remarks: 'Their genealogy from the time of the founder Sushmar Chandra appears to me to have a much stronger claim to our belief than any one of the long strings of names shown by the more powerful families of Rājputana.' The correctness of this remark with regard to other Vamsavalīs also is borne out by the fact that they contain names known from epigraphical or literary sources. In his account of the Punjab Hill States he published lists of the *Rajās of Kangra, Durgpur, Minā, Chamba and Rajmūl*. A list of the *Rajās of Kulu*, evidently drawn from a Vamsavalī had been previously edited by Captain Hume.¹

¹ *Raj. Hist. Soc. India* Vol. I p. 2.

² *Ind. Arch.* Vol. I p. 140.

³ *Camb. Chron.* Vol. I p. 100 (Kangra) Vol. VII p. 108 (Rajmūl) pp. 114-115 (Chamba) p. 118 (Durgpur) p. 119 (Minā) p. 120 (Kangra) p. 121 (Kangra) p. 122 (Kangra) p. 123 (Kangra) p. 124 (Kangra) p. 125 (Kangra) p. 126 (Kangra) p. 127 (Kangra) p. 128 (Kangra) p. 129 (Kangra) p. 130 (Kangra) p. 131 (Kangra) p. 132 (Kangra) p. 133 (Kangra) p. 134 (Kangra) p. 135 (Kangra) p. 136 (Kangra) p. 137 (Kangra) p. 138 (Kangra) p. 139 (Kangra) p. 140 (Kangra) p. 141 (Kangra) p. 142 (Kangra) p. 143 (Kangra) p. 144 (Kangra) p. 145 (Kangra) p. 146 (Kangra) p. 147 (Kangra) p. 148 (Kangra) p. 149 (Kangra) p. 150 (Kangra) p. 151 (Kangra) p. 152 (Kangra) p. 153 (Kangra) p. 154 (Kangra) p. 155 (Kangra) p. 156 (Kangra) p. 157 (Kangra) p. 158 (Kangra) p. 159 (Kangra) p. 160 (Kangra) p. 161 (Kangra) p. 162 (Kangra) p. 163 (Kangra) p. 164 (Kangra) p. 165 (Kangra) p. 166 (Kangra) p. 167 (Kangra) p. 168 (Kangra) p. 169 (Kangra) p. 170 (Kangra) p. 171 (Kangra) p. 172 (Kangra) p. 173 (Kangra) p. 174 (Kangra) p. 175 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The Chamba Vamśavali contains, besides the names of the Rajas already published by Cunningham an account of the more prominent among them. Its value as a historical document has been fully proved by the study of the inscriptions which on the one hand has confirmed its credibility and on the other derived from it much support in deciding chronological questions. I have therefore thought it fit to edit here with the permission of His Highness the Raja of Chamba, the Vamśavali both in original and in English translation. In my subsequent historical notes I shall often have occasion to refer to this document which together with the inscriptions and the *Khāmā Chronicle* forms our chief source of information for Chamba history.

The present edition of the Vamśavali is based on only one manuscript of recent date. Notwithstanding repeated enquiries I have not succeeded in recovering any other copy in Sanskrit there existed so I am told—an authentic copy which was preserved by the Raja but was accidentally destroyed by fire. An Urdu version of this document is still extant and forms the basis of the history of Chamba published in the State Gazetteer by Dr J Hutchison.¹ From a comparison of the two it appears that the lost State Vamśavali cannot have materially differed from the copy here edited though perhaps it was somewhat fuller in detail and composed in less corrupt Sanskrit. That it was a document of any literary pretensions may rightly be doubted. Besides the Sanskrit manuscript there exist a certain number of 'bansavalis' in the vernacular. Though these are clearly translations from the Sanskrit they may sometimes be consulted with advantage as a help in elucidating obscure passages. They are however, to be used with due caution, as their compilers themselves have often failed to understand the original.

The Sanskrit Vamśavali is metrical throughout and consists of 120 stanzas in the *Anustubh* (*Śloka*) metre commonly used in epic compositions. It may be divided into a mythical and a historical portion but it should be understood that the former presumably contains historical and the latter certainly legendary elements. The mythical portion which is comprised in the first 31 stanzas is based on the *Puranas*. It contains 113 names of Kings which agree very closely with those found in the *Bhagavatapurāṇa* (*Śānti* & *Adhyāya* 1.12). Often there is verbal agreement, so that we may assume that this book formed the source for the Puranic portion of the Vamśavali. It is nothing but a string of names only sparingly, a few details are inserted regarding the most prominent personages in the list.

The progenitor of the Solu Race is Narayana who is followed by Brahma, Manu, Kāśyapa, Virasant Manu and so on. The thirty fourth of the list is Campa the mythical founder of the town of Campa namely that on the Ganges, and the forty fourth Bhagiratha the hero of the well-known myth of the descent of that river from heaven. In verse 20 we find Rama the *hero eponymos* of the

¹ Chronicle of Chamba as published by Mr W Baines in *Punjab Notes and Queries* Vol III p 68 and *Indian Notes and Queries* Vol IV pp 19, 31, 51, 72, 93, 114 and 119. It was compiled from vernacular texts prepared by the British Residents of the several States on the Chamba State and from a kind of state chronicle of the Punjab History Society. It is very inaccurate and requires revision.

Ramavari and in the next verse king Vala, the husband of the faithful Dama-
vanti. The eighth list of the list is Vira the reviver of the Solar Race who is said
to have settled in the village of Kilpa. In the Satya, Suddhoda and Langala
mentioned in verse 33 we recognise Sakumari the Buddha his father (here his
son) Suddhodara and his son (here his grandson) Rahula. With Sumita the
11th from Vira the Solar Race is said to have become extinct.

Here from verse 35 begins the second part which relates to the history of
Chamba. The compiler has not shown much skill in connecting the Puranic
portion with his own composition. He has simply gone back to Vira mentioned
twenty six generations before as the reviver of the Solar Race and promotes him
to the rank of progenitor of the Chamba Rajas. We shall not follow his narrative
here but only consider its value as a historical document.

The Vamsavali in its present shape is undoubtedly a modern composition. It
breaks off abruptly in the midst of the Nrupa era
and can therefore not have been compiled before A.D.
1612. Possibly it belongs to a still later date as the concluding portion seems to
be missing. It was evidently written at a time when the knowledge of Sanskrit
was very scanty. The 11th or 12th century would have produced something better.

On the other hand it cannot be doubted that the compiler used documents of
a much earlier date. Otherwise it would be inexplicable that the names of Rajas
who lived many centuries before are placed in the right order of succession. Clearly
these names could not have been preserved by merely verbal tradition. There is
however no evidence of any portions of older records having been embodied in the
Vamsavali. The language is throughout ungrammatical and the mode of expres-
sion clumsy. Already in verse 86 we find mention made of the Mughals (San-
skritised as *Mudgala*) in the reign of Vijaya Varman who cannot have ruled later
than the 13th century. It seems therefore that the biographical particulars
contained in the Vamsavali are mainly derived from oral tradition. This explains
why the Narasimha temple at Brahmoi is wrongly ascribed to Vira Varman (verse
15) and why we are told that the inscription on the brazen bull of Sriv contains
an edict (Skt. *asam*) of that ruler (verse 47). The compiler merely reports
traditions which are still current at Brahmoi. Yet most of such traditions are un-
doubtedly based on history and sometimes receive corroboration from authentic
records. The account of the restoration of the Chamba shins by Purta Singh
(verses 98-103)—leaving aside the personal interference of Vira—is fully con-
firmed by a copper plate issued by that prince on the occasion of the consecration of
the Taksm Narayana temple.

Of the great majority of Rajas the Vamsavali mentions nothing but their
names. Of a few a comparatively long account is given in which often trifling
details are treated at a length out of proportion to the limited size of the chronicle.
It can hardly be a matter of doubt that the anonymous writer was a Brahman.
His history is largely a *historia sacra* and he dwells with evident delight on mira-
culous events and pious acts such as the foundation of sanctuaries and donations
to the twice born. The efficacy of asceticism (*tapa*s) is also duly exemplified.

We may further surmise that the author was a native of Chamba and perhaps held some distinguished position at the Raja's court. This explains his partiality to his native land and its rulers. We know from contemporaneous Muhammadan historians that the part taken by Pithu Singh of Chamba in the reduction of Jagat Singh, the walike Raja of Nurpur, was humbler than the Chamba chronicles would fain make us believe. We are therefore, all the more justified in not too readily accepting his statement of the great victories won by Vijaya Varman over the Khas and Kāśmīras—not to speak of the "afudgalis"—of which the Kāśmīr chronicles know nothing. May we ascribe to the same propensity—either of the compiler or more probably of some earlier annalist—that we miss in his list the name of Salavahana, who as we know from Kalhana, was 'uprooted' by Anantadeva of Kāśmīr?

Whatever the shortcomings of the composer of our Vamśavali may be, it would be unfair not to recognise that thanks to his efforts, a considerable number of ancient legends and traditions, partly based on history have been preserved which otherwise might have become lost. The chief value, however, of the document for the present work lies in its core—the list of Chamba Rajas. In connection with what has been said above regarding the unsatisfactory methods of dating the inscriptions it will be evident that a reliable list of the rulers mentioned therein must be of real help in deciding chronological questions. The trustworthiness of the list can on the other hand be tested by the epigraphical records and this has been done with the following results.

Among the eighteen Rajas from Meru to Sahila who are said to have ruled at Brahamor, only Meru varman is definitely proved by his inscriptions to be a historical person. Adi-varman Deva varman and Musana varman are also historical at least if we may identify them with the Aditya-varman, Divikari (or Deva) varman and Musana of the inscriptions. But in any case these eighteen names, if historical, are not placed in the right order, for we do not find the names of Meru varman's father, grandfather and great-grandfather in the same succession in which they occur in two of his inscriptions. The name of Meru, as we have seen has been a intrusion taken from the Purana. He is therefore as little entitled to the rank of founder of the Cimbhul clan as Kal pa guma (wherever that place may be) is to be regarded as their ancestral home. In Meru-varman's inscriptions the historical progenitor of his race is mentioned under the name of Musana.

From Sahila onwards the names can in general be proved to be historical and are moreover placed in the correct order, but occasionally names appear to have been left out transposed or interpolated. We may therefore assume that from the time that the town of Chamba became the seat of government a genealogical roll was kept which though not without undergoing some modifications, has been preserved in the present Vamśavali. From A.D. 1330 onwards the correctness of the list is attested by an uninterrupted series of epigraphical records.

From what has been remarked above it will be clear that the Vamśavali cannot possess any real value for the ancient geography of Chamba. We find indeed place names—either written in their modern form, such as *Panga* (spelled *Pani* v 38), *Dol(a)* (v 102)

Bhalch (v 119), *Sukhet(a)* (v 50), and *Kolunor(a)* (v 120), or wrongly Sanskritised e.g. *Kolo* (vv 114 and 115) instead of *Kuluta* and *Gurjerat(a)* (v 91) for *Gurja a rustia* (*Gurjat*). The only names given in their correct Sanskrit form are *Campa* (v 69 etc), *Isabati* (v 70 etc) and *Kolmra*. For *Kangra* we find once the correct ancient name *Thigarta* (v 93) but elsewhere the Raja of that district is indicated as *Nagarakotika* (v 104) an adjective derived from the name *Nagar Iof*. It need hardly be demonstrated that the form *Varmapura* adopted by Cunningham as the ancient name of Bhamor apparently on no other authority than the *Varmavali* is purely imaginary. The document itself affords convincing proof to that effect for it asserts (verse 37) that 'Varmapura (alleged to have been named after the *Varman* dynasty) was founded by Maru although it is not till four generations after him (verse 39) that the first *Varman*, named *Adi Varman* appears on the scene'. But all discussion on this point is superfluous, as we now possess two only inscriptions which prove the ancient name of Bhamor to have been *Bhansrapura*.

There is hardly more reason for accepting the forms *Budha surit* (v 4) *Devala* (v 49), *Satika* (v 50) and *Cotr* (v 100) as the genuine ancient names of the Budhal river, the village Dyol the Sala stream and the village of Oari in Kangra. It is curious to meet with a place name *Muluta kota* (v 78) which occurs also in an inscription (No 17) under the form *Makuta*, but there is no proof that in both cases the same place is meant.

TEXT

ॐ श्रीगुरुवे नमः

विश्व सृष्ट्वा पालयितुं कल्याणं मायाया गुणैर्ये प्रणम्य ।
त लाभविष्टस्य नारायणं सवीता कण्ठे सूर्यवशावलीयम् ॥ १ ॥

First Part

स्वयभूर्नामिकमलादासीवारायणस्य तु ।
मरीचिमन्मस्तस्य' तस्माज्जातस्तु कश्यप ॥ २ ॥
प्रजापतिरतोऽदित्या विवस्वानामनुरासज ।
विवस्वत आहटेव जुवती प्राणतो मनी ॥ ३ ॥
पुत्र इन्द्राकुरभवद्विकुञ्जितस्य चात्मज ।
विकुञ्जेरभवत्पुत्र पुत्रजय इति श्रुत ॥ ४ ॥
इन्द्रवाहककुत्स्थाभ्या पर्यायाभ्यामदीरित ।
तस्मादनेनास्तुपुत्र पृथु पुत्र पृथोरपि ॥ ५ ॥
विश्वगन्धिस्ततश्चन्द्रो युवनाम्बस्तु चन्द्रज ।
शम्भुस्तस्मात्सुतस्तस्य बृहदश्वोऽस्य कीर्तित ॥ ६ ॥
धुम्भुमारतिपर्याय पुत्र कुवलययाजक ।
दृढाश्वस्तस्य हर्यश्वो निकुञ्जोऽस्य सुतो मत ॥ ७ ॥

बहिष्पाथो निकुम्भस्य क्षमाथो^१ऽस्य च सेनजित् ।
 युवनाथो^२ऽस्य तनयो माम्नाता कुक्षिमीदमात् ॥ ८ ॥
 जात सम्पादसदस्यु^३पर्यायस्तस्य चात्मज ।
 पुत्रकुलमस्तस्य पुत्रस्वमदस्युरितो^४ऽभवत् ॥ ९ ॥
 अजरण्यस्तसुतो^५ऽभूद्वयश्वस्वरुणस्तत ।
 निबन्धन स्ततस्तस्य सत्यव्रतखिगाङ्गक^६ ॥ १० ॥
 वैशङ्कवो चरिश्चन्द्रस्तस्माद्वरुणयज्ञज ।
 जातो रोहितभूपानो हरितस्तस्य चात्मज ॥ ११ ॥
 चम्पस्तस्यात्मजश्चम्पापुरी येन विनिर्मिता ।
 सुदेवस्ततस्तस्य विजयस्तस्य चात्मज ॥ १२ ॥
 भर्क^७स्ततस्तुत प्राक्तो वृकस्तस्यापि बाहुक ।
 सगरस्तत्सुतश्चक्रवर्त्यमीदमसञ्जस ॥ १३ ॥
 सागरो^८ऽस्याशुमानस्य^९ दिलीपो^{१०}ऽन्य भगीरथ ।
 भगीरथाच्छुतस्तस्य नाभ^{११}सिन्धुद्वीपस्तत ॥ १४ ॥
 तस्यायुतायुस्यापि ऋतुपर्णो^{१२}ऽस्य कीर्तित^{१३} ।
 सर्वकाम सुदासो^{१४}ऽस्य स च सर्वमहस्तथा ॥ १५ ॥
 कल्पापपादपर्याय सौदामस्याश्मक^{१५}ऽभूत् ।
 तसुतो मूलको नाम नानीमि^{१६}परिगृहित ॥ १६ ॥
 नारीकवच इत्युक्तो मूलक क्षत्रवशस्तत ।
 आसीद्वनथो मूलकस्य पुत्रस्तदाश्मके ॥ १७ ॥
 तस्मादेडविड^{१७}स्तस्माज्जातो विश्वसङ्गस्तत ।
 खट्वाङ्गश्चक्रवर्ती यो सुहृत्तेनात्मता गत ॥ १८ ॥
 खट्वाङ्गाहीवेबाहुस्तु तस्माद्रघू रघोरज ।
 तस्माद्दशरथो राजा यत प्राहुर्मूढरि ॥ १९ ॥
 रामचन्द्रादिकुपेण चतुर्व्यूहावतारवान ।
 तस्यात्मज कुशस्तस्यातिथिर्निषध आतिथि । २० ॥
 नैषधस्तु^{१८} नली राजा पुण्डरीकस्तटात्मज ।
 जैमधन्वा तस्य सुतुर्देवानोक्तस्तत पुन ॥ २१ ॥
 पारियात्री बलस्तस्माद्वलान्मन्य इतीरित ।
 अस्मादकाशसम्भूतो^{१९} वज्रनाभो महोपति ॥ २२ ॥
 स्वगुणो^{२०}ऽस्माच्च विष्टतिस्तस्माद्राजर्षिमत्तम ।
 हिरण्यनाभ शिथो यो जैमिनेरभवत्पुत्रा ॥ २३ ॥

१ Ms वरुणाथो

२ Ms विवचन

३ Ms सागरस्यानुमातम्

४ Ms तस्यायुतायु स्यादस्य ऋतुपर्ण प्रकीर्तित

५ Ms तस्यायुतायु स्यादस्य ऋतुपर्ण प्रकीर्तित

६ Ms नपदस्य

७ Ms कुमाथो

८ Ms सत्यव्रत एव विष्णुकुल

९ Ms स्यानाभ

१० Ms खालिकम्

११ Ms उत्तीरित

१२ Ms सम्पादसदस्यु

१३ Ms कर्क

१४ Ms सौदामस्याश्मक

१५ Ms तस्मादेडविड

१६ Ms अस्मादेकौनः भवति

योगाचार्या यतो याज्ञवल्क्योऽगालीशनो मुनि ।
 भेदकं हृदयमन्वेष्टानमध्यात्मसञ्चितम्^१ ॥ २४ ॥
 महा-द्रोणोदयकरं यस्यासीत्पुष्पसञ्चित ।
 पुत्रोऽन्माद्रुवसन्धिर्यस्याग्निवर्णं सुतो नृप ॥ २५ ॥
 भिन्नस्तस्माद् भर्तृयोगमिदो राजाभवत्पुरा ।
 नष्टस्य सूर्यवशस्य पुनर्भाविनिता कलौ ॥ २६ ॥
 कलाप्रयामयाश्रित्य तस्य प्रसमुत सुत ।
 सन्धिर्यस्यासर्पणीऽस्य सङ्ख्या^२ स्तुतुतो मत ॥ २७ ॥
 विश्वमात्रं^३ स्तस्य सुतो यस्य पुत्रो बृहद्बल ।
 हृतोऽभिमन्युना युद्धं भारतं च बृहद्रथि ॥ २८ ॥
 सुतस्तृक्षिणं^४ स्तस्य वत्सहरीऽस्य^५ मत्सुत ।
 प्रतिव्योमं^६ स्ततो भानुर्दिवाको वाहिनीपति ॥ २९ ॥
 लहदेवस्ततो वीरो बृहदश्वोऽथ भानुमान् ।
 प्रतीकाशो भानुमत सुप्रतीकाश्च तत्सुत ॥ ३० ॥
 तस्माच्च मरुदेवोऽस्य सुनक्षत्रोऽस्य पुष्कर ।
 अन्तरिक्षस्ततो राजा सुतपास्त्रिदसिचजित ॥ ३१ ॥
 बृहद्भानुस्तस्य तस्माद्बहिर्ह्रस्वस्य कतञ्जय ।
 रणञ्जयस्तस्य सुत सञ्जयस्तस्य चात्मज ॥ ३२ ॥
 तस्माच्छाक्योऽस्य शङ्खोद्दो लाङ्गलं^७ मत्सुतो मत ।
 ततः प्रसेनकस्तस्मात्पुत्रको रणकोऽस्य तु ॥ ३३ ॥
 तस्य सत्सु सुरथ सुमित्रस्तस्य चात्मज ।
 सुमित्रस्तनपत्योऽत्र नष्टप्रायेऽन्वये रवे^{१०} ॥ ३४ ॥

Second Part

गतेषु बहुवर्षेषु योगसिद्धो मरुनृप ।
 राजकन्या विवाहाभ्यां जनश्रामास सत्युतान ॥ ३५ ॥
 तेषामेकं कलापि स्थाप्यारधराभ्यां स्तव्यं य ।
 निष्क्रम्य दम्पतिभ्यां तत्रैकं सस्थाप्य रोधक्षि^{११} ॥ ३६ ॥
 डिमद्रेर्ज्येष्ठपुत्रेण यः कश्मीरमवाप्य स ।
 तत्र वर्मपुरं नाम कत्वा पुत्रस्य वृद्धये ॥ ३७ ॥
 जयस्तन्वाभ्य त तत्राभिपिचि^{१२} स्वसंस्थित ।
 तपस्यभिरतो योगाचार्यं मगम^(१३) एव हि^{१४} ॥ ३८ ॥
 जयस्तन्भात्मजस्त्वासीजलस्तस्मै^{१५} स्तव्यं चात्मज ।
 महास्तम्भोऽस्यादिवर्मा देववर्मा च तत्तत ॥ ३९ ॥

MS संनि

^१ MS विद्रमाह

MS प्रतिव्योम

^{१०} MS निडां प्राप्ता नदी नद

^{११} MS योगाचार्य मगम म एव हि

MS नवा

^५ MS सुतस्य कृत्य

^६ MS लाङ्गल

MS सधसि

^७ MS खामरम्भा

^८ MS वरुणहनु

^९ MS कुण्डो

MS पेश

मन्दारस्तुतस्तस्य कान्तारोऽस्य प्रगल्भक ।

प्रगल्भस्यात्मजस्त्वाज्यवर्मा वसुपुरे यदा ॥ ४० ॥

तदा गत स योगाचार्यं कृत्वा दुष्करं तप ।

इरावतीबुधमरिस्तु मे ग्रिधप्रीतये ॥ ४१ ॥

तदा लिङ्गान्वसग्यानि प्रादुरासक्त्यस्ते स्थले ।

राजापि स्वसुतं राजसुते सर्वैरजहूतम् ॥ ४२ ॥

दृष्ट्वा धुरन्धरं तस्मिन्योगाचार्यमने स्थित ।

अभिपिच्य सुतं मेखवर्माणं राज्यमिदमे ॥ ४३ ॥

योगमास्थाय तत्रैव जेवेऽगाच्छिवसन्निधौ ।

मेखवर्मा जयस्तस्मादशमोऽभूत्स्थित पुत्रि^१ ॥ ४४ ॥

योगाचार्यस्य स्वता^(२) सुमेरोरिव चादधात् ।

देवदेवस्य स्थितये स्मृतिं नरहरैरपि ॥ ४५ ॥

प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्वगुरुणा काश्मोरेण महात्मना ।

सूर्यश चाम्बना भद्रकाशी तत्र गणाधिपम् ॥ ४६ ॥

सस्याप्य वृषमस्याधस्त्वनिस्वद्राजशामनम् ।

सुवर्णवर्मा तत्सूनुर्लक्ष्मीवर्मा तदात्मज ॥ ४७ ॥

तस्य राज्यं निपतिता मारी लोका रुजा हता ।

नदेव कीरेरागल्य राजा रणमुखे हत ॥ ४८ ॥

राज्ञो गर्भवती नीता मन्त्रिभिः सपुरीरहितैः ।

देवलाया बहिर्भूमौ गच्छन्ती सुषुवे^३ सुतम् ॥ ४९ ॥

कन्दराया तु त त्वक्ता गन्तुमव समुद्यता ।

पुरोधमोक्ता दृष्ट्वा ता कथं पुत्रि त्वमोदशो ॥ ५० ॥

प्रसूतासि कदास्माकं स्वामी कुत्र निवेशित ।

तिष्ठत्यन्तर्गतोऽसौ वैव श्रुत्वैव पुरोहित ॥ ५१ ॥

रुहीत्वा दर्शयामास मन्त्रिण त न समदित् ।

ततन्ता परभोगैकदेशे नीत्वा स्थिता बहन् ॥ ५२ ॥

वत्सरास्तुहुरोर्गेहि सवालं कण्डनाय हि ।

धान्यानां सा गता धृत्या सङ्गती चरणौ गुरु ॥ ५३ ॥

बालस्य दृष्ट्वा चिह्नेस्ता पपच्छ नृपतेर्गुरु ।

के भवन्तं कुत प्राप्ता किमर्थमिति पृच्छते ॥ ५४ ॥

नीवाच राज्ञी पुरुषान्पृष्ट्वा ज्ञात्वा च तत्कुलम् ।

राजलक्षणसयुक्तं बालं बुद्धा^४ महात्मन ॥ ५५ ॥

नीत्वा सुखितनगरं स्वराज्ये त निवेद्य तु ।

राज्ञी तपस्विनी ज्ञात्वा यथायोगं तु सत्कियाम् ॥ ५६ ॥

स्थानेन सानदानाभ्यां चकारादृत्य प्रत्यक्षम् ।

राजा भूषणवर्मानो यदा धौवनमास्थित ॥ ५७ ॥

^१ MS पचि perhaps पचि

^२ MS सुखे

Perhaps चाट्यात्

^४ MS बुद्धा

तदा प्रभोगराजामौ तस्मै दुहितर निजाम ।

दद्या विधिवदस्मै प्राज्ञीतिग्राम^१ महडनम् ॥ ५८ ॥

सेना च अहन्तो सार्धं नृपेण नृपतिर्देदी ।

नाम्ना नृपणवर्सासावागन्धैवाशु कोदकान् ॥ ५९ ॥

हत्वा समस्तारुह्ये राज्ये निपसाद महीपति ।

माताप्याकाङ्क्षिता राज्ञा ततस्तेनापि प्रेषिता ॥ ६० ॥

सञ्जुषा भूमिपालेन शुल्कादनादिमत्कृता ।

पत्न्या प्रसादितस्यासीत्पुत्रो मूषणवर्मण ॥ ६१ ॥

सखत सारवर्मा तत सेनाभिधो मत ।

सैन्यवर्गस्यतो राजा सज्जन^२स्तस्य चात्मज ॥ ६२ ॥

राजा सहिलवर्माभावुधे तपसि मस्थित ।

पर्युधैव धर्मचारिण्योक्तज्ञे हिमगिरे कृती ॥ ६३ ॥

दक्षिणे योगसिद्धोऽभूत्सिद्धास्तत्र समागता ।

चतुरशीतिसन्ध्यास्तो धरदानार्थमस्य हि ॥ ६४ ॥

नेष्टृन्नरपतिस्तत्र निर्विघ्नस्तैरुदीरितम् ।

राज्ञी^३ सनीयित प्राप्तेवाभवेयु^४ सुता मम ॥ ६५ ॥

नह्य मेवको राज्ञो खैव कोऽन्योऽप्य चाजया ।

प्रजार्थमभविष्यस्तदन्ताम्नासि सुता दश^५ ॥ ६६ ॥

युष्माभिरत्र स्वातव्य समात्रागमनावधि ।

राज्ञोदितमिदं श्रुत्वैवैवमस्त्विति ते पुन ॥ ६७ ॥

प्रत्यमृग्वन्^६ नृपेणैव योगी चर्षटिरागत ।

युगाकारप्रभृतिभिर्दशभि सत्सुर्तर्तृप ॥ ६८ ॥

विजित्य जत्रियान्युडे पुरीं चम्या चकार ह ।

पुरैव चम्पकेनालङ्कृता देव्याभिरक्षिताम् ॥ ६९ ॥

चम्पावत्यैव महिषादीन्दत्वेरावतीतटे ।

लिङ्गभेदा^७ स्त्रिहाष्यामन् शालिकासङ्गमे तथा ॥ ७० ॥

कुनालसङ्गमे चात्र मरुस्रत्या च शालिका-

सङ्गमे तान्मरुमानीय चर्षटे समती^८ स्थित ॥ ७१ ॥

गुप्तचन्द्रेश्वरी^९ कूर्मेश्वरश्चेत्यादि नामभि ।

स्थापयामास नृपति मञ्जिस्ताख्यो जितेन्द्रिय ॥ ७२ ॥

चर्षटस्थानमप्यन्ते^{१०} कारयित्वा सुतान्नव ।

प्रेषयामास विन्ध्यादानीयता मङ्गती शिला^{११} ॥ ७३ ॥

गत्वा तैर्मङ्गती शुभ्रा शिलानीतात्मनव^{१२} हि ।

गुरुणोक्ता शिला नेध लक्ष्मीनारायणोचिता ॥ ७४ ॥

MS पडोति याव

^१ MS महिष्यन्

MS लिङ्गभेदा—

^{१०} MS त्यागसंस्थान

MS सज्जन

^१ This text is evidently corrupt

^१ MS सङ्गती

MS मङ्गलीशिला.

^१ MS राजा

^१ MS इतिशुल

^१ MS गुप्तचन्द्रेश्वरी

MS नीलमैव

अस्या उदर एकोऽस्ति मेको' राज्ञा निरीक्षणे ।
 कृते जाते तथान्यास्तु प्रतिमा शङ्करस्य च ॥ ७५ ॥
 देव्या गणपतेश्चाप्येकत्र देवालये तु ता ।
 स्थापिता स्वसुता' राज्ञा पुनरेव तु प्रेषिता ॥ ७६ ॥
 भावित्वादेवमेवार्थस्यानीयान्या' शिला पथि ।
 स्थितास्तदा रणे भूयोभितार्हदभ्युभि सुता ॥ ७७ ॥
 श्रुत्वा नृपेण तान्दन्त युगाकारो धनुर्धर ।
 प्रेषितोऽसौ' मुकुटकोटादारभ्याङ्गनद्रिपुन ७८ ॥
 यावद्धिमगिरं पञ्जाता न देशोऽस्तु परम' ।
 सद्व्युहता' शिरभ्यागाच्छिलामादाय सत्वर ॥ ७९ ॥
 कारयित्वा कति लक्ष्मीपत सस्याप्य चादरात् ।
 सस्याप्य च युगाकार स्यात्पुर्या' नपोऽप्यगात् ॥ ८० ॥
 मङ्ग चर्पटिना राजा तथैव तपमि स्थित ।
 चतुर्भिरधिकाद्यामङ्ग शीरति सिद्धमूर्तय ॥ ८१ ॥
 सरस्वत्यद्रवाऽघापि' राजापि शमसामवान ।
 युगाकारात्मजो दाग्धो विदग्धस्तस्य चात्मज ॥ ८२ ॥
 विचित्रवर्मा तस्यासौर्द्धयवर्मा च तस्मृत ।
 असटस्तस्य पुत्रोऽस्य पुत्रो जसटदालिकी' ॥ ८३ ॥
 जसटस्थानपत्यत्वाद्दालवर्मा नृपोऽभवत् ।
 अजितस्तस्य सन् स्यादस्य दैत्यारिगात्मज ॥ ८४ ॥
 पृथ्वीवर्मा तु दैत्यारिरुदय सन्तस्य तु ।
 तम्यासी' कलित पुत्रो यस्यासौद्विजयो नृप ॥ ८५ ॥
 धादित्वा दक्षिणवटो' काश्मीरकोरमुहला ।
 जता गृहीतो देशो येनानुनीता सङ्गज्जना ॥ ८६ ॥
 दत्तास्त ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ग्रामा कृत्वा राजशामनम् ।
 राणवाटादयो' बोजभरणाद्या' स्वराप्तये ॥ ८७ ॥
 ब्रह्मणो दानवीरोऽभूत्काश्मीराश्चानयदशे' ।
 राजवर्मा विलयवर्मण पुत्रस्ततस्त्वभूत् ॥ ८८ ॥
 मारवर्मा तस्य सन् कीर्तिवर्माप्यभून्नृप ।
 अजितो सदनर्थति द्वौ सुतो कीर्तिवर्मण ॥ ८९ ॥
 अजितश्चानयल्या'भून्मदनो' नृपमनस ।
 मुद्रा सदनवर्माभिधाना यस्यास्ति दक्षिणे ॥ ९० ॥
 नागोक्कुञ्जरगद्गागुर्जरात्रे व्यापि वा लिपि ।
 नागरी स्रुतुरक्षाशाख्या चीमूतस्तु तत्तु

MS भिकी

MS मङ्गली

* MS सौ

* Th s p 1207 f 2

* le baps शनु लता s to have d

MS रा

* MS ठालिबी

I सी 12

स्वका गुना would be a better reading

* MS बोजभरणाद्या

Th s verse is obscure P chap 12 f 12

वैदिवर्मा सुतस्तस्य माणिक्यस्तस्य चात्मज ।

रोटवर्मा तस्य छत्रु मङ्गलमाख्यस्तदात्मज ॥ ८२ ॥

तत्तद्वर्मा राजासीच्छिगर्ताधिपते सुताम् ।

विवाह्य पाकशाखाया भोजनाय समाश्रिते ॥ ८३ ॥

तस्मिन् कोतुसार्थं तद्राजोपकरणैः समम् ।

चणकादीन् च हस्ताग्रान्छाखामादिमानि हि ॥ ८४ ॥

तत्र तत्र पश्याय वरमासन्दर्भम् ।

उपवीष्टेन (१) भुक्त्वा पानीयपाने महत्यपि ॥ ८५ ॥

दूरस्थेऽपि प्रसार्य वानु पीते जले नमी ।

जालाभ्या (२) नि स्तुतौ सपौ^३ लेनिहानौ विन्नोक्तौ ॥ ८६ ॥

राजा जनैः समं पादावभिवन्द्य^४ मञ्जोपते ।

गणेशवर्मा तत्पुत्रस्तस्य पुत्र प्रतापवान् ॥ ८७ ॥

प्रतापमिहवर्मासौद्युधिष्ठिरसमं कलौ ।

लक्ष्मीनारायणादीना प्रामादावम्बकर्मण ॥ ८८ ॥

तस्यार्थचिन्ता तीव्राभीक्ष्ण्यं मे निर्वहेदिति ।

मन्त्रगुल्फालसचिवाद्यैः प्रजापीडनं विना ॥ ८९ ॥

शयनस्थस्य शयने रात्रौ स्वप्ने श्रियं पति ।

माच्छादिव समागम्य सोऽवबोध्याहं पार्थिवम् ॥ ९० ॥

राजचिन्ता न ते जातु सर्वं सम्पादितं मया ।

श्रुत्वोत्थायाह राजासौ दण्डवत्प्रतितो भुवि ॥ ९१ ॥

कथं न सम्भवेद्विश्वम्भरस्यार्तातिकृन्तनम् ।

द्वितीयोऽहनि होमाग्न्यामादागत्य कर्षकाः ॥ ९२ ॥

ताम्रखण्डानि सदसि न्यम्योचुः खनिमम्भवम् ।

देवालयोऽहमे सर्वे^५ तेन सम्पादितास्तदा ॥ ९३ ॥

राज्यवृद्धिरभूद्युगे जितो नागरकौटिकः ।

चन्द्रेणि नाम्ना राजासौ प्रपलायनतत्परः ॥ ९४ ॥

चटोददेशद्वयमानवलो यावत्तु गोपुरम् ।

हृतं धनं गजानादि सर्वं भूमिश्च भूयसी ॥ ९५ ॥

मामन्तवृपतीनां तेनाहतस्य सोदरः ।

जयकिह इति ख्यातोऽभूद्गुणैर्नृपसमतः^६ ॥ ९६ ॥

प्रतापसिंहपत्नीऽभूद्वीरभानुर्मञ्जोपति ।

बलिभद्रस्तस्य बलिकर्णं गुणैरभूत् ॥ ९७ ॥

बलिभद्र^७ सुतस्वामीज्जनार्दन इति श्रुतः ।

गुणैरनवमस्वामीदज्जनात्मव्यसाचिनः ॥ ९८ ॥

^१ MS दूरस्थ

^२ MS सया चासचिवाद्यैः

^३ MS अदि

^४ In the MS the second half of verse 10 and the first half of verse 10B have been transposed.

MS नि स्तुते सपौ

^५ MS स वो शीराह तत्र रात्रौ की जगद्वे भय

MS राजा नाया पदायनतत्पर

^६ MS भिवय समापते

^७ MS समत

धर्मे धनुषि शूरत्वे नये भक्तौ नृपस्य च ।

हादशाब्दं युद्धमासीज्यस्त्रिंशेन मृमुता ॥ १०८ ॥

यवनाधीशसचिवाग्रणिना तस्य तेन तु ।

पलायिना जितेनापि बहुधा कपटात्मना ॥ ११० ॥

वञ्चयित्वातः^२ शूरणापि भ्रात्रा समन्वित ।

विश्वश्वरेण जयिना देवादप्यनुजेजसा ॥ १११ ॥

पित्रादेशात्सबलमित्रानुजेनानपि सङ्गत ।

तदैव^३ बलिभद्रस्य दग्धो दशो हृत धनम् ॥ ११२ ॥

यवनाधीशयोगेन गच्छीत^४ राज्यमेव तत ।

जनार्दनस्य पुत्रो भूतशृङ्गसिंहोऽपि बालक । ११३ ।

देशान्नि मत्स्य स गतो मण्डोकोलाचलादिषु ।

गतेषु बहुवर्षेषु प्राप्त मदे सहस्रपि ॥ ११४ ॥

दैवेऽनुकूलता प्राप्ते सामन्ते सविधाय तु ।

सन्धि मनागतं पृथ्वीसिद्धं कोलाचलात्स्वयम् ॥ ११५ ॥

नङ्घयित्वा भूरिज्जिमं गिरिदेवानुकूलत्वान् ।

स्वदेशस्थान्निवायापि कौटाक्षस्यैव सन्निकान् ॥ ११६ ॥

पितृघणस्याह्नन्द्युहे तत्र तत्राश्विनाच्छती ।

नि क्षेपयित्वा चम्पापुत्रा स्थितान्निपुर्सेनिकान् ॥ ११७ ॥

रुहोत्वा नामिकाक्षित्वा त्यक्त्वाऽन्याह्ननग्रसु^५ ।

देशगतस्य हत्वान्यान्भूमिं शान्तिपट्टिला ॥ ११८ ॥

कृत्वा निजाज्ञावशं सङ्ग्रामं नाम मृमिपम् ।

दत्त्वा भलहीमप्यस्ते पितृघणं हन्तुमुद्यत ॥ ११९ ॥

सन्धि विधाय यवनाधीशमान्यभटन स ।

प्रत्यङ्गेन समाश्रित्य^६ कलानोरपुरं यदा ॥ १२० ॥

TRANSLATION

ADORATION TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS GURU

While bowing before Narayana who by the qualities of Illusion has created the Universe [which had been] absorbed at the end of the Kalpa (may He protect it!) to obtain [our] wishes this string of the Solar Race has been wound round His neck.

The Self-existent (Brahma) was born from the navel lotus of Narayana. Marici from his (Brahma's) mind, and [from Marici] Kasyapa the patriarch. From him (Kasyapa) by Aditi was born Vivasvat the son of Vivasvat was Manu the god of the funeral oblation (*sandhya deva*). From the nose of Manu while sneezing sprang his son Ikshvaku. His (Ikshvaku's) son was Vikulsa and Vikulsa had a son called Purnijaya also known by the names of Indrajit and Kalutstha.

The correct one would be — यथा

MS सौमित्र

साउमित्रस

MS बर्चस

MS — कुलनाम

MS समाश्रय

^२ MS वामन

^५ MS — कुलनाम

^६ MS — कुलनाम

From him (Purandhaya) [spring] Anenas his (Anenas) son was Pithu, Pithu's son was Visvagundhi from him (Visvagundhi) [spring] Cundia and Yuvanasva the son of Cundia His son was Sibasta and his (Sabasta's) son was known as Bhadaśva His (Bhadastas) son was Kuvālayasvaka also named Dhundhumu. Diddhava was his (Kuvālayasvaka's) son and his (Drilhasva's) son was known as Haryasva Nūumbha Bahūnasva was the son of Nūumbha and Kīśāsīśvaśajit was his (Bahūnasva's) son Yuvanasva was his (Kīśāsīśva's) son and by the piercing of the womb [of his mother] was born [his son] Mandhata the Emperor also called Prasaddasyu His (Mandhata's) son was Purulutsa, his (Purulutsa's) son Prasaddasyu (II) from him (Prasaddasyu) was born (*verse 19*) Ananya his (Anuranva's) son was Haryasva (II) and from him (Haryasva) [spring] Anura From him (Anura) was born Nibandhana [from Nibandhana] Satyavata Trigunika Trisanku's son was Haniscandha, from him (Haniscandha) was born the king Rohita through a sacrifice to Varuna, and his (Rohita's) son was Harita His (Harita's) son was Campa who founded the town of Campa Suleva was his (Campa's) son his (Suleva's) son was Vijaya and his (Vijaya's) son Bharuka His (Bharuka's) son was called Vika and his (Vika's) Bahuka Engira the universal monarch (*calraraitin*), was his (Bahuka's) son Asirajasa was the son of Sagwa his (Asamanjasa's) son was Amśumant his (Amśumanta's) Dīpa his (Dīpa's) Bhagratha From Bhagratha [spring] Śrutā from him (Śrutā) Nabha and Śindhudvīpa from him (Nabha) His (Śindhudvīpa's) son was Ayutayus his (Ayutayus) Rūpama his (Rūpama's) Śuvakama his (Śuvakama's) Sudasa and his (Sudasa's) Saivasaha also named Kalmasapida The son of Sudasa's son was known as Aśmaka His (Aśmaka's) son Mulaka by name was guarded by women and therefore called Narikavaca (Women armoured) the progenitor of the warrior caste Daśmārtha was the son of Mulaka Aśmaka's son From him (Daśmārtha) [spring] Aidavida, from him (Aidavida) was born Visvasaha and from him (Visvasaha) Khatvanga the universal monarch (*calraraitin*) who in a moment attained spiritual wisdom From Khatvanga [spring] Dīghabahu from him (Dīghabahu) Raghu [and] from Raghu Aja From him (Aja) [spring] king Daśārtha (II) from whom came forth Hari (Vishnu) (*verse 20*) in his four fold incarnation as Ramacandha and his brothers His (Rama's) son was Kusa his (Kusa's) Atithi [and] the son of Atithi was Nisadha The son of Nisadha was king Nala his (Nala's) son was Pandurika Ksemadharmān was his (Pandurika's) son and from him (Ksemadharmān) again was born Devanika [Devanika's son was] Parīyatia from him (Parīyatia) [spring] Bala [and] from Bala Sthala From him (Sthala) spring Vāyuprabha the ruler of the earth who was born from a beam of the Sun Svaguna was born from him (Vāyuprabha) from him (Svaguna) Vidhrti and from him (Vidhrti) Hraṇyabali the best of 101 sages who first became the disciple of Jumuṇi and from whom the teacher of the Yoga Yajñavalkya, the sage of Kosala attained doubt-dispelling spiritual wisdom, which caused the great Yoga

Here there are names which are found in the *Itihāsa* (p. 61) have been omitted as they are not mentioned in the *Itihāsa* and *Harita*

to rise His (Hiranyu bha's) son was named Pusya, from him (Pusya) [was born] Dhruvasandhi whose son was Agnivarna the king From him (Agnivarna) was formerly born the great Manu the king accomplished in Yoga who in the Age of Sin (Kali yuga) revived the Solar Race which had become extinct After he (Manu) had settled at the village of Kalapa a son Prasusruta was born to him Sandhi was his (Prasusruta's) son Amarsina his (Sandhi's) and Sahasvant his (Amarsina's) His (Sahasvant's) was Visvasihva whose son was Brhadbala¹ who was killed by Abhimanyu in the contest and the great battle of the Bharatas His son was Urukmya² and Vatsaraddha was his (Urukmya's) son [From him was born] Prativyoma from him (Prativyoma) Bhanu-Divaka the army head (*Verse 30*) from him (Bhanu) Sahadeva the hero then Bhradaśva Bhanumant Prativasva [was the son] of Bhanumant and Supatika was his (Prativasva's) son From him (Supatika) was born Marudeva his (Marudeva's) [son was] Sunakatra and his (Sunakatra's) Puskara From him (Puskara) [was born] the king Antarikṣa great in asceticism the destroyer of his enemies Brhadbhanu³ was his (Antarikṣa's) son from him (Brhadbhanu) [sprang] Barhi and his (Barhi's) son was Kṛtāñjaya Ranāñjaya was his (Kṛtāñjaya's) son and Sañjaya was his (Ranāñjaya's) son From him (Sañjaya) [sprang] Satya Suddhoda was his (Satya's) [son] and Langala was his (Suddhoda's) son From him (Langala) [sprang] Prasanka⁴ from him (Prasanka) Ksudrika and his (Ksudrika's) son was Ravaḥa His (Ravaḥa's) son was Suratha, and Suratha was his (Suratha's) son Sumitra was childless so that the race of the Sun was nearly extinct

After many years had elapsed king Manu accomplished in Yoga married a king's daughter and begot by her excellent sons⁵ Having settled one of them at Kalapa he left for the sake of his own growth with the two others [who were] householders and settled one there on the slope of the Himalaya Then having reached Kāśmīra with the eldest son he founded there Vamapūra for the sake of his son Jaya stambha and anointed him there [as king] He himself stayed there practising asceticism—he the teacher of the Yogi The son of Jaya stambha was Jala stambha and his (Jala stambha's) son Vaha stambha His (Vaha stambha's) son was Adivarmaṇ and Deva varmaṇ was his (Adi varmaṇ's) son (*Verse 40*) Mandara was his (Deva varmaṇ's) son Kantara his (Mandara's) and Pragalbha⁶ his (Kantara's) The son of Pragalbha was Ajya varmaṇ When he (Ajya varmaṇ), a master of the Yoga practised difficult asceticism at Vamapūra at the confluence of the Javati and Rudha stream to please Śiva then numberless *lingas* appeared all over the place The king seeing his son a leader adorned with all royal virtues and being himself intent on the practice of Yoga anointed his son Meru varmaṇ for the sake of the growth of the State and devoting himself to Yoga he went from that same spot to the presence of Śiva Meru varmaṇ was the tenth from Jaya stambha settled in

¹ The *Bhagavata* (9 1st) lists the names Puskaryata and Tkrad after Visvasihva

In the *Bhagavata* p 1st 9) Brhadraṇa the name of Brhadbala's successor

² Brhadrija according to *Bhagavata* p 1st 12 13

⁴ Prasankata according to *Bhagavata* p 1st 12 14

⁵ The vernacular names all speak of children which is evidently due to a confusion between *satvata* and

the town (²) for an abode of the god of the gods¹. He caused also an image of the Man lion to be erected by his eminent guru : who was an inhabitant of Kashmir and he set himself up a Suiyamsa,⁴ [images of] the Blessed Kālī (Bhadrakālī) of Garadhīra (Ganeśa) and of the bull (Nandi), and beneath the latter he wrote his royal commandments. Suvarna varman was his (Meru varman's) son and Lal son varman was his (Suvarna varman's) son. In his reign there occurred a pestilence and the people were afflicted with sickness. At the same time came the Kuas and slew the king in the front of the battle. The queen who was pregnant was rescued by the ministers together with the family priest and at Devālī, having stepped out [of her litter] she bore a son (*Verse 50*) Leaving him in a cave she proceeded to go, but the family priest seeing her, asked

How my daughter art thou in this state? When hast thou born a child? Where hath our lord been laid? And when she gave answer 'He is inside [the cave],'⁵ the family priest took him and showed him to the minister but not in public. Then they brought her to a country ruled by Parabhoga and there they tarried many years in the house of his guru with the child. Once she had gone to thrash paddy seeds. The guru of the king seeing in the dust the footprints of the child marked with signs [of royalty] asked her 'Who art thou? Whence hast thou come? And why?' When he asked thus the queen did not speak but having questioned her attendants he learnt to what house the boy belonged, and knowing that as he bore the marks of a king he was the son of a noble father he took him to the town of Sukheta and presented him to his king who when he learnt her misfortune, duly honoured her with a dwelling place with honours and gifts and duly reverence. When king Musana varman had become of age king Prabhoga gave him his own daughter in marriage according to the prescribed rules with the village of Pangri and great wealth and gave him also a large army. Then that Musana-varman came hastily (*verse 60*) slew all Kuakas and settled as ruler in his own kingdom. The king also called his mother and the ruler [of Sukheta] sent her with her daughter in law honoured with a dowry and presents. Musana-varman pleased with his queen had by her a son Hamsa. From him (Hamsa) [was born] Sara varman and from him (Sara varman) [a son] named Sena. The son of Sumya varman was king Sujana and his (Sujana's) son was king Suhela varman. He, engaged in severe austerity with his lawful wife on the southern slope of the Himalaya attained his object and became accomplished in Yoga. Then there appeared wizards eighty-four in number to give him a boon. The king in his weariness did not express his wish but they uttered the Raja's desire at once 'May I have sons

3

'We must stay here till my return' quoth the king and they on hearing it consented saying 'So be it'. The Togi Cūpati went with the king. Together

¹ The a st all of *verse 40* is unat the ble

² The vernacular Sanskrit has उक्त श्रम्य दायका का श्रमभय दय विग काय श्रम्यय करवा भवा. Evidently the text of the *Sūtra* in *kl 7* is at Braham. Cf *Clu la Ga ite* p. 1

³ *Verse 60* is unat the ble. It is a response to the question the queen and the king uttered the Raja's desire what boon granted him ten son

with Yuga-kara and his nine other excellent sons the king defeated the Ksatryas in battle and founded on the bank of the Harvati the town of Campa which was before adorned with *campaka* trees and guarded by the goddess (*verse 70*) Campa *vati* having slain the Buffalo and others¹ On this same spot there were also various *lakes* at the confluence of the Salika [with the Harvati] and at the confluence of the Kunika and at the confluence of the Salika with the Sarasvati Having brought these [to the town] with the consent of Carpati, the king named Sahila the master of his senses established Gupta and Candisvara Kumesvara and other temples

Having finally established a sanctuary of Carpati also, he sent nine of his sons [with the words] Bring me a large stone from the Vindhya They went and brought with them a large and white stone but the *guru* said This stone is not suitable for [an image of] Laksmi Nayanana Inside it is a frog When the king had examined it and it was so he set up other images of Santana Devi and Ganapati all in the same temple and sent his sons again As it was destined to happen on the way his sons when they were bringing the stone were slain in battle by numerous robbers When the king heard this he sent Yugalata the archer to slay them and he (Yugalata) slew the enemies from Mukhatalota as follows

he came hastily with the stone

(*Verse 80*) Then after he had caused an image of Laksmi Lord to be made and set it up reverently he installed Yugalata [as his successor] in the town of Campa and went with Carpati to devote himself to asceticism The eighty-four wizards were also [with him] the king also went to rest (*i.e.* died)

Yugalata's son was Dogdha his (Dogdha's) son was Vidagdha Vicitra varman was his (Vidagdha's) son and Dharmya varman was his (Vicitra varman's) son Asata was his (Dharmya varman's) son His (Asata's) two sons were Jasata and Dhakla As Jasata was childless Dhakla varman became king Ajita was his (Dhakla varman's) son his (Ajita's) Dantya Prthivi varman [was the son] of Dantya Udaya was his (Prthivi varman's) son His (Udaya's) son was Lalita whose [son was] king Vijaya He [listening from (?) the south] slew the Kashmiras, Kiras and Mdgulas (*i.e.* Mughals) took the land and at once gratified [his] people In order to attain heaven he gave his royal command and granted to Brahmans the villages of Ranavata and so on with seedcorn and rent ()² He was pious and generous and he subdued the Kashmiras

Raja varman was the son of Vijaya varman from him (Raja varman) was born Sita varman his (Sita varman's) son was king Kirti varman Ajita and

It is not clear whether *his* refers to the king or to the goddess In the first case it would mean that on the occasion of the foundation of Campa a buffalo and other animals were sacrificed by the king In the second case it would refer to the slaying of the Buffalo demon (Makara) by the goddess Indeed the name of Campavati represents the Devi in the act of piercing Makara

¹ Most of *verse 70* is corrupt

² The first part of *verse 81* is evidently corrupt

³ The expression श्रीनारायणोत्तरा निलोत्पल गता 10 A B C & for 1900 G p 268 but the meaning is not clear

years there was war between the king and king Jagatsimha¹ the chief councillor of the lord of the Yavanas. Though he (Jagatsimha) was defeated several times and fled the treacherous [wretch] deceitfully [killed Janardana] though accompanied by his heroic brother Visvambhāsa victorious and dignified like a god and at his father's command accompanied also by his younger brother Sabala simha. Then Balabhadra's land was burnt his wealth carried off and by means of the lord of the Yavanas he was even robbed of his kingdom.

Janardana's son Prthvi simha was yet a child. He left the country and went to the mountains of Mandi Kola and so on. When after the lapse of many years a great change had taken place and Fate had become favourable Prthvi simha made an alliance with some fraudulent chiefs and came with them from the Kola mountain. Having crossed much snow through the favour of the mountain gods he expelled from the fortress the soldiers of the murderer of his father who were staying in his country and everywhere slew them all in battle successfully. After overtaking the soldiers of the enemy which stayed at the town of Campa

and having killed the others which had invaded the country the land was red with blood. After he had rendered the prince named Sangrama dependent on his will and given him Bhalehi he (Prthvi simha), eager to slay the murderer of his father when after having made an alliance with the lord of the Yavanas Manyabhrata⁽²⁾ and sought refuge in the town of Kalanoti

¹ Jagat Singh Pathān of Nurpur who stood in great favour of the Imperial Court. The term Yavanas originally meaning Ionians. The Greek is here used to designate the Moslems.
Sangrama Pal Pathān of Basoli. Cf. above p. 13.

CHAPTER VI—ANCIENT HISTORY

A—The Rajas of Chamba



Fig. 16. Temple of Vishnu at Bramor

In the absence of epigraphical or literary evidence we may assume that the territory now known as Chamba State once formed part—nominally at least—of the great empires of the Mauryas the Kusanas and the Guptas which successively rose and fell in Northern India. The names of Ashoka and of the three Kusana princes Hushka, Juska and Kanishka occur in Kalhana's Chronicle among the early rulers of Kashmir and it is not unlikely that they and Vishnu Kul the II in whose sway extended over Kashmir and Gandhara reckoned the Ravi valley among their dominions. Nor does it seem improbable that in the 7th and 8th century

the suzerainty of Kashmir under the powerful rulers of the Kshatrapadynasty was acknowledged by the chiefs then established in the upper valley of the Ravi. The statement of the Puyatragin that the great Lashaditya reckoned the King of Jalandhara i.e. Kanagra among his feudatories seems according to Dr. Stein to be based on historical fact. The inference is therefore unavoidable that to the north of the Jharkhandi Dham also the supremacy of Kashmir was acknowledged. It is however worthy of note that none of the epigraphical records of the chiefs of

Rajasthani St. Vol. I p. 89

The same would be the case for the whole of the Rajasthani St. Vol. I p. 89

1. 1. (T.)

Chamba bears any evidence of their having recognised Káśmīr as the paramount power. We must therefore assume that if such a relationship existed, it was neither stringent nor permanent.

About A D 700 at the very time when the political influence of Kāśmīra had reached its zenith we find in the upper Ravi valley a Rajput chief of the Solar race Meru varman by name who not only assumed the proud title of 'king of kings' (*vijadhiraja* inscription No 6) but actually must have been the liege lord of feudatory chiefs. The name of one of them at least is preserved in the Gum inscription (No 9), which at the same time proves that Meru varman's rule extended down the Ravi valley at least ten miles below its junction with the Budhādī. His capital was Brahmoī where the temples and inscribed brass images erected by him still testify both to his piety and power. The temple of Chhatraīn which also contains an inscribed idol dedicated by him proves that on the left bank of the Ravi his dominions included this village. The inscription (No 8) on this image distinctly states that the Ravi conquered his 'enemies in their invincible castles' from which it would seem that he forcibly extended the territory held by his ancestors. The Chhatraīn inscription mentions the name of Meru varman's father Deva varman. Those of Brahmoī (Nos 5 and 6) call him Divyānā varman and contain moreover the names of Meru varman's grandfather Balh varman and of his great grandfather Aditya varman. It has been remarked above that Deva varman's name occurs also in the *Famājavālī* (sl 39) which calls him the son of Aditya varman perhaps the Aditya varman of the inscription in reality his grandfather. The *Famājavālī* has four names between Deva-varman and Meru varman which must have been interpolated.

In two of the Brahmi inscriptions Meru varman calls himself a scion of the Solar race and a descendant of the house (*gotra*) of Musana or Mosana. The latter form is perhaps meant for a *rrid* derivative (correct *Musaia*) of the former. In the Gum inscription we meet again with the name in the slightly modified form of *Mosia*. I feel inclined to identify the Musant of the inscription with the Musana who figures in the *Pamsaval*, as the great grandson of Meru varman and whose adventures are related at considerable length in that document (§§ 49-61). In popular legend his name has become converted into Mus Brihmar or Mush Brihmar (Mouse Brihmar), which has given rise to the story that after his birth he was guarded by mice. It is significant that this tradition which is known to every inhabitant of Ujjain is not found in the *Pamsaval*. In the copper plate grants Musana is very often mentioned as the progenitor of the Chamba Rajas. First of all Vada-dhara calls himself a scion of the house of Mosant and of the Solar race. It is curious that here again we meet with the form with *o* in the first syllable, which we have already noticed in the *Mosia* of the Lilsar image inscription. In the two grants of Samr varman (Nos. 24 and 25) we find S hilla praised as the great Jewel embellishing the house of Pusana (*Parana var so blusa a malame*) and in his grant

[illegible]

Samatā was a principality which afterwards became absorbed into the Balor State or it may have been the ancient name of that State itself.

The Kūas with whom the Saumatikas had combined are known from other sources as a tribe settled in the neighbourhood of Kāśmīr. Sometimes they are identified with the Kāśmīris. In the present case they seem to have acted as mercenaries in the service of the chief of Dugara, the modern Dugar, and were sent by him to the assistance of Samatā against Chamba. The whole episode reminds us of what happened some eight centuries afterwards when a Raj of Jammu sent an army under the chief of Basohli to invade Chamba which was repulsed with the help of the Sikhs. Anyhow the contest referred to was evidently one of those petty wars which used to be the favourite occupation of the Hill Rajputs. Sahillā, while extending his dominions down the Ravi valley, was bound to come into collision with the rulers of Vallapura or Sumatā as apparently then State was then called. The Saumatikas would naturally apply for help to their neighbours the Daungaras or Dogras and the chief of Chamba secured the support of the rulers of Kangra and Kulu. With the latter he was related by blood but it may be rightly doubted whether Sahillā exercised any suzerainty over Kulu as would appear from the inscription. If we are to believe his eulogist, the Chamba chief was victorious, which fact may have been largely due to his alliance with his more powerful neighbours of the Bias valley.

In one of the two copper plates (No. 25) which contain the eulogy of Sahillā, mention is made of another victory in this instance won over the Fūnalsas. This term originally applied to the Turks is indiscriminately used to designate any kind of foreign invaders. It is therefore impossible to decide who Sahillā's opponents were. I feel inclined to assume that they were mercenaries employed by one of the neighbouring Hill chiefs.

Sahillā's pilgrimage to Kuukṣetā on the occasion of an eclipse is quite in keeping with prevailing custom. It would seem that his pilgrimage and royal gift of a multitude of elephants to the Sun god Bhaskara had the special object of obtaining a son and heir and it is interesting to note that Sahillā's austerities described in the Vamśaval had the same purpose in view. Here however a holy man of the name of Cupat figures as the agent of divine favour. He accompanied, so the chronicle says, the chief on his conquest of the lower Ravi valley and took a leading part in the founding of the new capital. As the group of temples near the Chamba palace contains a sanctuary dedicated to the memory of Cupat Nath, there is some reason to assume that Sahillā's spiritual adviser is not merely a fictitious personage.²

The Kūas are mentioned *Rajāt VIII 270* transl. Stein Vol. II p. 91 and *Bṛhatkālīa XIV 99*. Apparently the name occurs in the *Aggrama* title of the *Bajjāli* in *Devanāgarī*. In the *Vamśaval* (¶ 18) mention is made of a *l*ra *va* *sa* in the reign of Lakṣmī *va* *man*. The *l*ra *va* *sa* are also mentioned among other non-Aryan tribes in the *Khaṇḍava* description of *Y* *to* *ar* *man* *C* *nd* *el* *a* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 131) and also in the *Bhāṣā* *ghāṭ* and *l* *an* *del* *in* *scriptions*.

Cupat Nath is one of the *g* *r* *s* of the *s* *e* *t* of the *J* *u* *a*. Cf. J. C. Quan, *Ug* *e* *l* *-* *A* *s* *e* *t* *s* *a* *t* *h* *a* *r* *t* *f* *J* *h* *r* *i*, (London 1903) p. 166.

Van lion incarnation of Visnu¹. The temple of this deity which is still extant at Brahmor, and which the Vamśavali erroneously attributes to Meru-varman is stated in Yugakara's copper plate to have been founded by Tribhuvana rekha Devi, who may have been a queen either of Sahila or of Yugakara himself. The latter seems the more probable assumption.

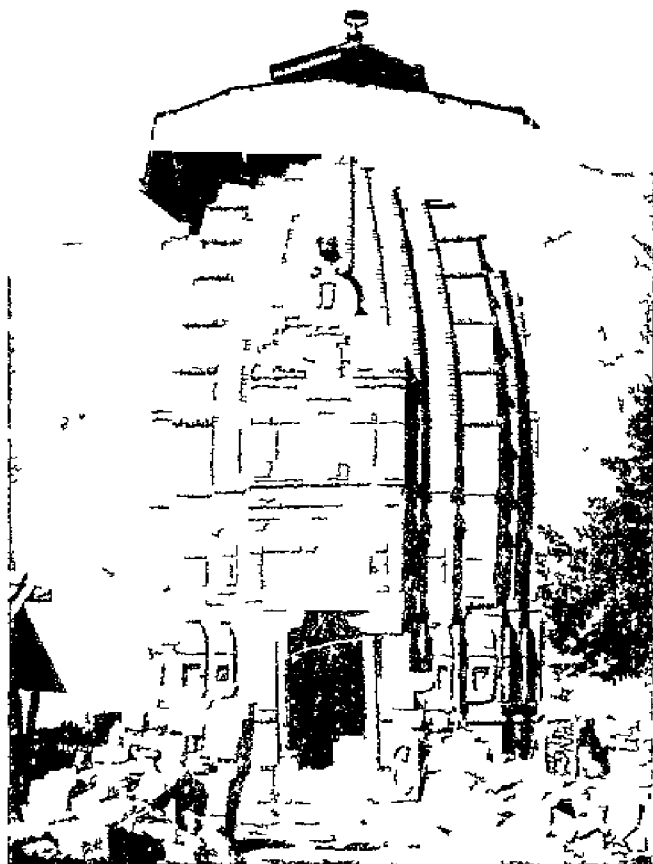


Fig. 17 Temple of Nirmala at Bahro (after the earthquake of 11th Ap 11905)

Yugakara's son and successor was Vidagdha of whose reign we possess two epigraphical records. One is a copper plate grant (No. 1b) issued by Vidagdha himself in the fourth year of his reign to a Brahman Nandu by name who came from Kurusetra. As Vidagdha's reign probably falls about the time of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni we may assume that the grantee was a refugee. Possibly he had been the local *purohita* of the Rajs of Chamb who as we have seen were in the habit of performing pilgrimages to Kurusetra. From the wording of the inscription however it is not clear whether the donor himself or his grandfather had left the

¹ At the word *Narasimha* has evidently been added the word *simha* to the grant was originally made to neither of them. But the name has been so altered that no when the character of the person is not understood.

hermitage of holy Kuruksetra ' for Chamb. His descendants enjoy the grant up to the present day.

The inscription apart from the usual laudatory epithets does not contain any facts regarding the royal donor except that he was the son of Yugakara and Queen Bhogmatī. Vidagdha evidently shared the Śivantic propensities of his father, for he is called here the supreme worshipper of Maheśvara.

The other document (No. 17) of Vidagdha's reign dated in his first year is an inscription of a feudatory chief, Thallila by name who was settled at Tū in the *Baṣaṭpaṅga* and owed allegiance to the Chamba Raja. It is of interest as showing that at this period the Ravi valley was still partly occupied by Rāṣas. Tū and not Sahibā's conquest of the lower valley did not result in their extinction. From being independent chieftains they simply became his vassals. In this and other inscriptions the vassalage of the Rāṣas is evident from the circumstance of them dating their inscriptions in the regnal year of their liege lord.

Another inscription from Tū (No. 18) mentions the name of Dodaka as that of Vidagdha's successor. He is undoubtedly identical with the Dogdha of the *Vaṃśavali* (§ 82), though in that document the Raja of this name figures as the father and predecessor of Vidagdha. After Vidagdha we find the names Vicitra varman and Dharmya varman which do not occur in any inscription. On the other hand, we possess three fountain inscriptions (Nos. 20-22) dated in the reign of a Trailokyadeva who must have lived in the second quarter of the 11th century. In one inscription—that of Nagha (No. 22)—he assumes the royal titles usually borne by independent rulers. I have shown above that there is much reason to assume that this Trailokyadeva was a ruler of the neighbouring Hill State of Balor (Śrī Vallapura). He preceded Kalaśa (pala) who is mentioned in the *Rajataranginī* (VII. 220) as an antagonist of Ananta of Kaśmīr.

From the middle of the 11th century Chamba history becomes more coherent and detailed as now the local records are supplemented by numerous references in Kallhana's *Chronicle*. The first mention of Chamba in the *Rajataranginī* is to the effect that Ananta deva of Kaśmīr uprooted Sala the ruler of Campa and placed another prince on the throne. The fact that Ananta vanquished Sala is also mentioned in the *Vilramakadeva* canto of Bilhana who was a contemporary of Ananta deva¹. The name of Sala is not found in the *Vaṃśavali* owing perhaps to the shortness of his reign or to its ignominious end. But in the three copper plate inscriptions of the 11th century edited in the present Volume we meet with the name of Salakhana who as first pointed out by Professor Kielhorn must be identical with the Sala of the *Rajataranginī*.

These three grants were issued by his sons and immediate successors, Somavarmān and Asata. The former whose name is likewise omitted in the *Vaṃśavali*, must have been the prince raised to the throne by Ananta deva of Kaśmīr. The exact time of this event

¹ *Ind. Ant.* VII. 1^a transl. Stein Vol. I p. 50. *Ind. Ant.* (ed. Lullier) VIII. 38.

² *Ind. Ant.* VIII (1888) pp. 51-52. *Śānaka* bre. at n. (Bl. mss.) of *Salakhana*. *Cunnah* has confused *Salakhana* with *Salakhana*. If first denoted in the *Salakhana* of the *Rajataranginī* (*A. S. R.* XIV. 11a) and as with *Salakhana* of the copper plate (*A. S. R.* XVI. 13a) and *Salakhana* in the *Ind. Ant.* (p. 13a) he is the founder of the town of Chamba. *Salakhana* II refers to her sister as it be due to an oversight.

cannot be fixed but we have pointed out that most probably it took place between the years A.D. 1050 and 1060.¹ No events are known of Somavarman's reign. He was succeeded by his brother Asata presumably between A.D. 1070 and 1080.

It stands to reason that Ananta's expedition against Chamba and Balot had for its object to assert the old claims of Kashmir suzerainty over the principalities of the Ravi valley. In this he seems to have succeeded for we meet with the names of Asata of Chamba and the Raja of Balot among those of the eight Hill Chiefs who visited Śimraga in the winter of 1087-88 in the reign of Kulāśa Ananta's son and successor.² The other six princes were Kanti of Bābhapura (Durgam) Samgramapala of Ryapuri (Rajauri), Utkarṣa of Lohara (Lohran), Sangata (?) of Uṛāś (Hazara), Gambhīraśīra of Kanda and Uttama rāja of Kaṭhāvata (Kasturi).

Kulāśa had previously married Asata's sister Bippika³ and their son the ill-fated Harsa, became king in 1089 shortly after his father had died at Mantanda. The following table shows the relationship between the ruling houses of Kāśmīr and Chamba:—

Sala-lāna-oo-Randh of Chamba		Ananta-deva-oo-Suryamati of Trigarta†1051 reigns A.D. 1052-†1081	
Somavarman	Asata	Bippika	oo Kulāśa A.D. 1063-1089
	Jānata died A.D. 1105		Haṣa-ba A.D. 1058-†1101
			Bhāsa
			Bhaskaradeva born A.D. 1099-†1130

Although the facts related by Kallhana seem to point to the dependence of Chamba on Kāśmīr it is curious that in their contemporaneous records none of the Chamba Rājas acknowledge in any way Kāśmīr suzerainty. On the contrary they assume throughout the full titles of independent kings. Kulāśa also wherever he mentions the Chamba rulers never uses the term *samanta* 'vassal', but always applies to them some expression meaning king (*bhūjala-śrīpati*). It seems that the dependence of Chamba and the other Hill States of the Ravi and Gmāb valleys chiefly consisted in the obligation of military assistance. The relationship was perhaps the same as that existing at a later time between the Rājas of Jammu and their vassals. The feudatory chiefs, says Drow⁴ those for instance of Alhan, Dolpatpur, Karamela etc. governed their own subjects but to the ruler of Jummoo they paid tribute and did military service.

The second of the three copper plate grants (No. 26) mentioned above was granted by Somavarman but issued in the first year of Asata. It contains the signature of both. An addition to it is dated in the eleventh year of Asata's reign.

¹ Ganeshaiah *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India* p. 141 places the accession of Chamba by Ananta between A.D. 1050 and 1061 which is decidedly too early. Ananta's accession took place in A.D. 1051 but the date was then a minor as it is correctly stated by Kallhana. *Rajāt VII* 134-135 transl. Stein Vol. I p. 98.

² *Rajāt VII* 588 transl. Stein Vol. I p. 316.

³ *Rajāt VII* 313 transl. Stein Vol. I p. 214. Chandra and *J. S. R.* Vol. XIV p. 110 place this event in A.D. 1060. But this is too late as Harsa was born in A.D. 1068. Cf. *Rajāt VII* 117 transl. Stein Vol. I p. 100.

⁴ *J. M. R.* p. 9.

It records the donation of lands in various villages round the capital to two temples of Vishnu and one of Śiva. One of the Vishnu temples is undoubtedly that known by the name of Hari Rai which stands between the Post Office and the Telegraph Office at the side of the Cangan Gate. The Śiva temple referred to in the inscription appears to be no longer extant. It is stated to have been founded by Rudha devi the queen of Salavahana (here called Salakara varman) apparently for the sake of the future bliss of her husband. This queen was the mother of Soma varman and Asata the donors of the grant. Among the lands presented to the temples there were some in the Panchik mandala (now the Pancha parwana) which at the time were enjoyed by the queen mother from which it follows that she had not become *sati* on the death of her husband.

I may mention here a hypothesis advanced by Mr V. A. Smith according to which a rare silver coin of a debased but good horseman type might be ascribed to Asata the chief of Campa. It should however be remarked that there is no evidence of Campa having ever possessed her own coinage except the copper *colli* of which I have seen no specimens of an earlier date than the reign of Pura Chhat Singh (A.D. 1808-44).

The third and last copper plate of the 11th century was issued by Asata in the fifth year from his succession. Neither this nor the previous plate contains any particulars about his reign. According to the *Faravahi* he was succeeded by his son Jasata. The year of his accession is proved by the Luj and Loh Tilin inscriptions (Nos. 28 and 29) to be A.D. 1105. These two inscriptions also establish the fact that both Churah and Pang then belonged to the territories ruled by the Chamba Raj. We have seen above that in the second quarter of the 11th century Churah formed part of the Vallapura State but it appears that in the first year of Soma varman's reign it had come under the rule of Chamba. It seems probable that Salavahana added it to his dominions.

Before his accession Jasata took an active part in the civil war which owing to Harsa's misrule had broken out in Kāśmīr. It will be remembered that Jasata was Harsa's first cousin; it was therefore natural that he should side with his kinsman against the Lohara brothers Uccala and Sussala. His support however did not save Harsa from ruin. Jasata seems to have been with the army of Harsa's general Candraraja which was defeated by Sussala in A.D. 1101 near Vijhrai (*valgo* Bijbihara). At least Kalihara mentions him among the four princes who with the remnant of that army had taken refuge in the temple of Vijayeshvara and surrendered to Sussala. He (Sussala), the chronicle says, "opened the door and stepped out quite alone carrying his sword and using harsh insulting words into the midst of those assembled in the court yard of the temple of Vijayeshvara where there were king Jasata the son of king Harsa's maternal uncle and three other

¹ V. A. Smith *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indo-Muslem Culture* (Oxford 1906) pp. 241 f. and p. 210 plate XXVI. 6. List of appendix IV.

² *Rajatarangini* VII. 1012. transl. Stein Vol. I p. 383. At the time of this event Jasata was not yet king (*varjo*) but only a *praput* (prince) or *varjo* (prince) as he was called by his title the son of King Harsa's maternal uncle. Uccala is whom Kalihara mentions as the principal of the other three Rajas who surrendered to Sussala was perhaps a chief of Babbapura. In the sequel we shall meet him with the Rajas of Babbapura of the name of Vajrabhara and his sons of the name of Vajrabhara and on the 11th century.

chiefs Umadhara etc. and where the multitude of Rajaputras horsemen Tantrins and feudatories belonging to the eighteen divisions of the army could not be counted. He mercifully promised safety to those who prostrated themselves and left after taking the image of Śiva Vijaya as their witness. He then ascended again to the terrace, had them all disarmed and led up by his servants with their arms bound by ropes. The place where Sussala held his assembly being covered with heaps of gold and silver sword hilts and decked with arms appeared as if decorated with strewn flowers. He handed them over to the Damaras to guard as one hands cattle to herdsmen and stopped there for three days. This event sealed Harsa's fate and was immediately followed by the murder of himself and his son Bhoja.

Uccala now became king of Kāśmīr. Bhoja's infant son born in Bhādon

Uccala of Kāśmīr

1099 who had received the auspicious name of Bhīṣa

or Bhīṣasara (leggar) was allowed to live though

as Kalhana¹ remarks he should have been treated as an enemy as he continued the enemy's stool. A few years afterwards when Uccala threatened by various pretenders wished to destroy the boy he was saved by his relative the princess Asmati and taken to the court of King Narayana of Malava where he was trained in arms and taught the sciences. Uccala at once took steps to prevent his return to Kāśmīr by concluding treaties with the princess whose lands lay on the route. But this precaution proved futile. In the year 1111 after a troublous reign of ten years Uccala was murdered. Kalhana extols on this occasion the valiant conduct of a Rājput from Chamba named Somapala who was slain in the attempt to defend his royal master against the conspirators. Possibly this Somapala belonged to one of the brahmanical houses who held parts of the Ravi and Chinab valleys as feudatories of the Chamba Rajas.

After a short interregnum the royal power was usurped by Uccala's brother

Sussala of Kāśmīr

Sussala who succeeded in holding his own against the

powerful Gaigaṇḍīa, Śaṣīṣa, Maṅgala and other mal

contents. But ere long a more dangerous opponent arose in the person of Harsa's grandson Bhīṣasara. Though yet a boy Bhīṣasara provided with money by the king of Malava and accompanied by Asmati had started on the perilous undertaking of recovering his ancestral throne. At Anantnagar he happened to fall in with five Hill Chiefs who after having made a compact for the journey were performing the pilgrimage to that holy place. Three of them were ruling chiefs namely Jala of Campa, Vajradhara of Babbapura and Sahaja-pala of Vantula. The two others—Balha of Tngura and Anantapura of Vallapura—were *Tuvrajyas* (i.e. hereditary and co-regents). In view of subsequent events we may assume that Bhīṣasara's meeting with the Hill Chiefs took place either in A.D. 1113 or 1115. It has been remarked above that pilgrimages to Kuṇḍaseta were and still are performed on the occasion of solar eclipses. In 1113 there occurred a solar eclipse on the 19th March and in 1115 on the 23rd July.

¹ *Rajatarangini* VIII 3618 transl. Stein Vol II pp 2 f. For the date of Bhīṣasara's birth cf. *Rajatarangini* VIII 3618 transl. Stein Vol II p 188.

Rajatarangini VIII 323 transl. Stein Vol II p 2. The Rajaputras of the Chamba inscriptions almost invariably bear names ending in *pala*.

It may be assumed that the Chamba Raja welcomed the opportunity thus offered to avenge himself for the disgrace of Vijahior. He received his youthful kinsman with the distinction due to his royal blood and the other Hill Chiefs treated him with like honour. Thus he proceeded to Vallapura where Raja Padmaka at the instance of Jasata and of the *Yunayaga* gave him his daughter in marriage. A Thakur of that country Gayapala by name collected troops in order to restore Bhaksarata to the rule enjoyed by his grandfather but before he could give effect to his design he was murdered by his own relatives.² Daryaka, the principal of the pretender's supporters fell in an expedition sent out by Padmaka against the murderers. After the faithful Asamati had died and the funds provided by the King of Malava had become exhausted Bhaksarata received less attention from his father in law the Raja of Vallapura.

He therefore left Vallapura for Chamba and turned with Jasata for four or five years. But here also the interest in the royal refugee seems to have declined considerably for Kallhana assumes us that during his stay in Jasata's house he scoured with difficulty mere food and clothing.³ His next place of retreat was the castle of a Thakur Dergapala which stood on the banks of the Candrabhaga probably somewhere between Doda and Bilasi.⁴ This Dergapala seems to have been an independent buion such as existed in some parts of the Upper Candiabhaga valley until recent times. He received Bhaksarata with distinction and gave him his daughter Bappika in marriage. While the prince the chronicler says

stopped there for some time in comfort and without fear he left behind misery and boyhood. From these words we may assume that the events here related took place about 111, when Bhaksarata had reached the age of eighteen years.⁵ In the following year a conflict in Rajapuri on the road to Kasimu afforded him an opportunity to take another step towards the attainment of his aims. Samgramapala whom we have met with among the princes who visited Srinagar in the winter of 1087-88 had died leaving three sons Pratapapala, Somapala and Nagapala. The eldest Pratapapala was unpunished and subsequently put to death by order of Somapala who ascended the throne.

Nagapala after killing Pratapapala's murderer took refuge with Sussala. Threatened with war by the King of Kasimu Somapala applied for help to Bhiksarata who apparently at that time had returned to his first father in law Padmaka. At least Kallhana states that Somapala called him from Vallapura. As the pretender on his gradual advance towards Kasimu had now approached the very gates of that country Sussala realised that the moment had come for vigorous action to check his further progress.

Rajast. VIII 53 ff. transl. Stein Vol. II pp. 44 f. Dr. Stein presumes that Bha of Trigarta means It seena. For a very more natural that it is the *pratyaga* of Vallapura who induced his father Padmaka to conclude a truce of alliance with the pretender.

The name of the Gayapala's place preserved in one of our Chamba inscriptions (No. 84).

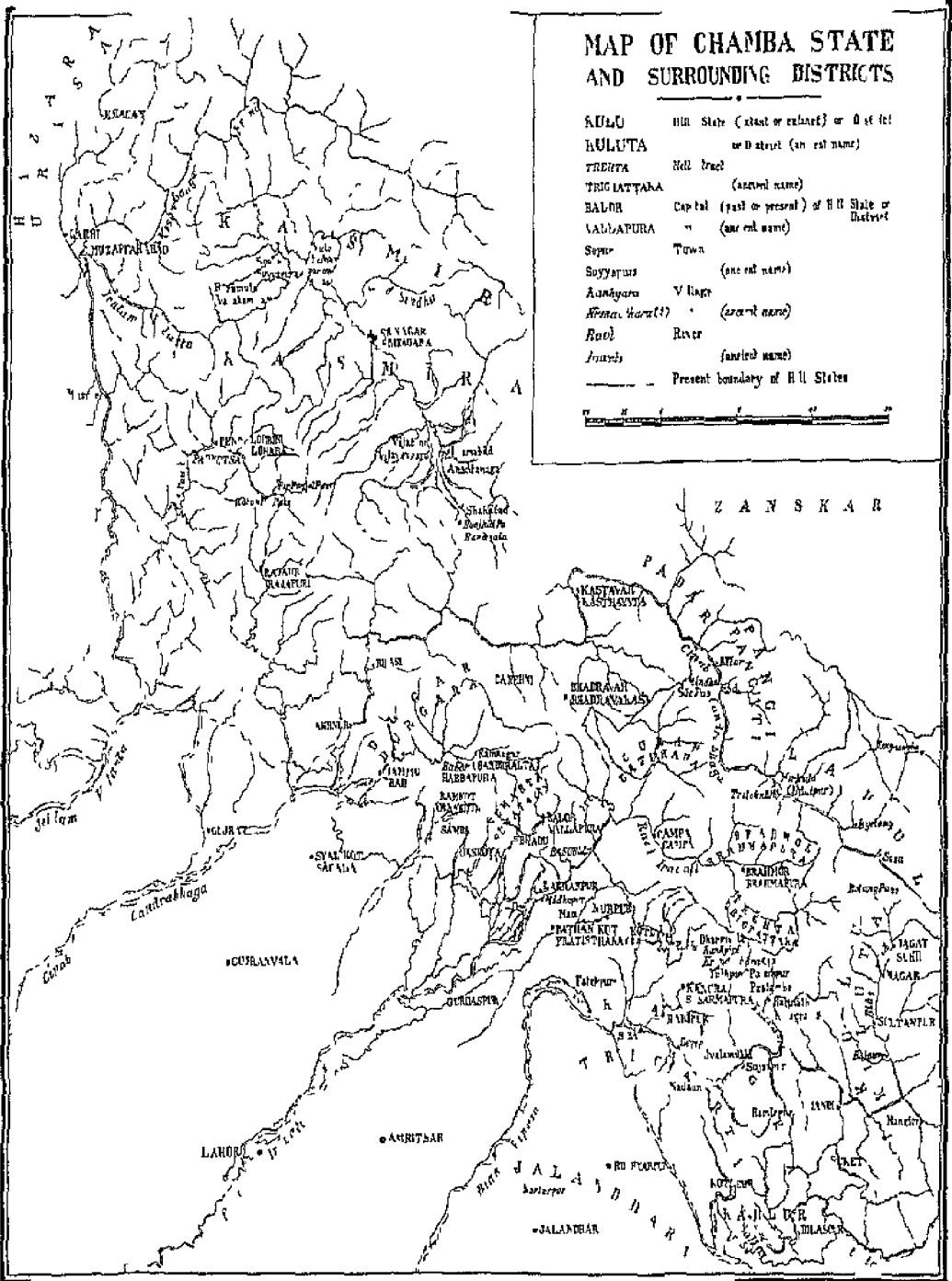
² It is curious that in the Chamba dialect the word *bhāṭ* denotes a most serious troublesome person but it is probably derived from the Sanskrit *bhāṭa* *śikṣa* *śikṣa*.

Cf. *Rajast. VIII* 123 transl. Stein Vol. II p. 135.

³ For details to be summarised see *Rajast. VIII* 538 542 and 547 555 transl. Stein Vol. II pp. 44 f.

MAP OF CHAMBA STATE AND SURROUNDING DISTRICTS

KULU	Hill State (actual or extinct) or Hill (old name)
RULUTA	Hill tract
TREHTA	(actual name)
TRIGIATTARA	Capital (past or present) of Hill State or District
BALUR	" (actual name)
Sopur	Town
Soyyapuri	(one old name)
Aandayara	Village
Khemar Karat(?)	(actual name)
Road	River
Jourals	(actual name)
— — —	Present boundary of Hill States



In the autumn of 1118 he marched against Rajapuri put Somra-pala to flight installed Nagra-pala in his stead and stayed there for seven months 'causing terror to his various enemies

Sussala's expedition

Who those enemies were is not definitely stated Only one of them is mentioned by name viz Vajradhara of Babbapura whom we have found among the princes who met Bhikshicara at Kruksetia and espoused his cause Babbapura as I have shown elsewhere was situated on the left bank of the Tivra 17 miles due east of Jammu and must have been the ancient capital of Durgala

It is evident that Sussala's expedition was necessitated by the movements of the pretender whom we have seen coming to the Ravi valley about 1114 and vanishing to the banks of the Candrabhaga about 1117 and finally settling at Rajauri Sussala's object must therefore have been to discomfit the coalition of princes who had taken up Bhikshicara's cause and among whom those of Campa and Vallapura were foremost The king of Kasmir made Rajapuri the base of his operations and sent marauding parties down the valleys of the Candrabhaga and other rivers It seems that Sussala's troops penetrated even as far as the upper Ravi This I infer from Kalhana's statement that the pious king (Sussala) recovered in the enemy's land Brahmapuri and its temples The word *brahmapuri* occurs elsewhere in the Rajatarangini as a generic name of uncertain meaning but here used in the singular it can only be a proper name I presume that Brahmapuri the ancient capital of Chamra is meant As to the significance of Sussala's campaign for Chamra history no information is forthcoming

It is to be regretted that Kalhana is not more explicit in his account of Sussala's expedition against the chiefs of the Candrabhaga valley His vagueness is perhaps intentional and due to the circumstance that notwithstanding the submission of Vajradhara and other princes the undertaking evidently ended in failure It should be remembered that Kalhana composed his chronicle under Sussala's son and successor Jaya-sinha Even the king's primary aim was not attained for Nagra-pala had to abandon his capital and followed his patron to Kasmir in the spring of 1119 Sussala's ill success is still more obvious from the fact that in the following year a rising of the Daimas or feudal land holders afforded Bhikshicara a welcome opportunity to enter Kasmir and ascend the throne of his grandfather But not for long did he enjoy the sweets of royalty The energy which had mired his career in adversity left him as soon as fortune smiled on him and the hereditary vices of Ananta's race soon became manifest in the young king Only six months after his accession he had to flee the country and Sussala re-assumed the royal dignity Bhikshicara established himself at Puspani (Skr Pusyananada) on the Pir Panthi Road from where he made incursions into Kasmir territory

Cf J R I S for 1911 pp 102 ff

On Sussala's campaign cf *Rajatarangini* VIII 61-63 transl Ste Vol II pp 50 f Dr Stein in a letter dated 30 Aug 1900 calls my interpretation of *Rajatarangini* VIII 63 very acceptable and convincing Kalhana's expression in VIII 63 is *brahmapuri* it might have been clearer than this but it is clear that a specific locality is meant by *brahmapuri* but then we know that in VIII 63 was never properly revised by the author and perhaps he was not himself quite clear as to what sort of a place Brahmapuri was His geographical horizon was limited As a generic name *brahmapuri* occurs *Rajatarangini* VIII 64-65 193

It does not appear that Jasata of Campa played any part in the later adventures of Bhiksacara. The year of his death is unknown.

Udaya varman

According to the Vamsavali (Sl 84) he died without an heir and was succeeded by his brother Dhali-varman. Neither this ruler nor his three successors Ajita, Dutyun and Prthvi-varman, have left any record of their reigns. If the names of these four princes are historical, then reigns must have been very short. In 1117 Jasata seems still to have been alive and in 1122 we meet in the Rajatarangini with a Raja of Campa of the name of Udaya varman. According to the Vamsavali he was the son of Prthvi varman. Udaya figures again in Kulha's account of the civil war in Kasmir. We find him and Jajjala¹ of Vallapura among the noblemen who valiantly assisted Sussala in defending Srinagari against Bhiksacara. With their help Sussala not only repulsed the enemy but inflicted a severe defeat on the Damara allies of Bhiksacara at the Gopadri hill (Fakht-i Suluman). How it happened that both Campa and Vallapura had abandoned the cause of the pretender and joined his adversary, is not apparent from the chronicler's narrative.

The close alliance between the king of Kasmir and the chiefs of the Ravi valley

Death of Sussala

is also evident from the fact that Sussala had married two princesses from Campa—Devlekha, praised for her beauty, and her sister Tirahlekha—and one princess from Vallapura, Jajjala by name. After Sussala's murder in 1128 these three ladies together with Rajalakshmi the daughter of Gangacandha, became *sati*. Kalhana² relates how 'the people humiliated by the fear of a hostile attack and by the sudden hard frost were not able to conduct Sussala's four queens to the distant burning ground. They therefore burned their bodies in haste near [the Vihara of] Skundabhadra which was not far from the palace.'

The death of his enemy did not in any way further Bhiksacara's cause. In Sussala's son and successor Jayasinha (A.D. 1128-1161 a) he found a no less formidable adversary. Defeated at Damodara, he had to leave the country. Somapala of Rajapuri concluded a treaty with the new ruler of Kasmir and refused the pretender a further refuge in his territory. This faithless conduct induces the chronicler³ to utter the following maxims, which no doubt is the echo of a popular adage. 'Even the gods have no pity in Lagana, no morals in Campa, no generosity in the Mirda land, and no good will in Duvabhisara.'

The only chief who to the very last seems to have upheld Bhiksacara's cause

Death of Bhiksacara

was his father-in-law the Thakkura Dengu-pala. His support however did not save him from ruin and in the summer of 1130 the ill-fated grandson of Bansa was treacherously slain by Jaya-

¹ *Rajal VIII 1093*. Dr Sen's translation reads the *lā dū* compound *lā dū nāyajjala* as 'Ujja and Brahmapajjala'. I feel more inclined to take the names to be Ujja, the human (for Udaya varman) and Ujja. In the Chamra copper-plates of the Muhammadan period *lā dū* is never of one's bestowed for *carries*. The form no form of the name Jajjala on a coin. *Rajal VIII 1144*. See also vol. p. 108. It is borne by a Vallapura princess. In his above quoted letter Dr Sen says 'If there is no Udaya [varman] in the Chamra records then a son of Udayabhiksha Jajjala is of course to be accepted as the only possible one.'

² *Rajal VIII 1110-1144*. transl. Sen Vol. II p. 113. The name *Sūta dāhārasa* is preserved in Khan-i-bayan.

³ *Rajal VIII 1591*. transl. Sen Vol. II p. 120. Dr Sen remarks 'This verse probably produces a proverbial saying of Kalhana's time: Rajapuri is clearly included in the judgment passed on Duvabhisara.'

simha's soldiers and his own Khasi allies, in a fort at the foot of the mountain pass of Banasula (modern Banihal).¹ With his death the war of succession came to an end. The prolonged struggle had completely broken the political power of Kasmir, and the weak rulers who followed Jyotsimha had to use all their efforts to hold their own, instead of asserting any claims of suzerainty over the neighbouring Hill States. Thus the connection between Kasmir and Chamba ceased. None of the later Kasmir chronicles ever mentions the Hill State on the Upper Ravi.

For the further history of Chamba we are therefore limited to local records.

Lalitaverman

The last mentioned Chamba Raja, Udayaverman, as stated in the Vamsavali (sl 85) was succeeded by his

son Lalitaverman. It appears from the Salhi inscription (No 33) that his accession took place in 1143 or 1114 and that he still reigned in 1170. The Ranas of Guwah and Pangri recognised him as their overlord and in the Devanikothi *prasasti* (No 32) which was composed by the Rajaguna Kamala lañchana in the 17th year of Lalita's reign, we find a stanza in which his virtues are eulogized.

Lalitaverman's successor was his son Vijayaverman. The Vamsavali (sl

Vijayaverman

86-88) relates of him that he subdued the Kasmiras

Kurus and Mudgalis (*i.e.* Mughals) but considering

that the Kasmir chronicles do not even mention his name the historical accuracy of Vijaya's alleged victories is open to doubt. Can it be that the Vamsavali has retained a vague remembrance of Udaya's exploits in Kasmir and transferred them to his grandson whose name is so suggestive of war and victory? It further states that he granted lands to Brahmins but up to the present no copper plate issued by him has been recovered. The fragmentary Mul Khatir inscription (No 34) seems to have been composed in his reign, and the Rana to whom it is due was probably one of his feudatories.

The record of Vijayaverman's reputed conquests is difficult to reconcile with

Stupae of Guwah

the circumstance that apparently towards the end of

the 12th century the Rajas of Balor regained possession

of Guwah. In that province two inscriptions (Nos 31 and 35) have come to light which are dated in the reigns of two rulers of the name of Ranapala and Ajayapala. It is highly probable that both were Rajas of Balor as their names can be traced in the Vamsavali of that State. These stones seem still to bear testimony to a struggle for the possession of Guwah, which raged between the two rival powers of the Ravi valley in the 11th and 12th centuries. In the first half of the 11th century Thulakya deva ruled Guwah. Then the Chamba Raja from Somaverman till Lalitaverman held it. Subsequently we meet again with the names of two Balaur Rajas but the province finally remained in the possession of Chamba.

It would seem therefore that Ajit Pal of Basohli only revived ancient claims when, supported by Ranjit Dev of Jammu he invaded Guwah in A.D. 1774. But the renewed contest ended in the sack of Basohli by Raja Raj Singh and shortly afterwards the ancient Balor principality became absorbed in the Jammu-Kashmir State.

B—The Ranas of Chamba

The Ranas play such a prominent part in the Chamba inscriptions that they deserve special treatment. In our epigraphs they are usually indicated by the name *rajanaka*. This word is not found in the classical literature of India and seems therefore to be a Sanskritized rather than a real Sanskrit word. Dr Grierson¹ has suggested a connection between this word and the Prakrit title *rajana* (i.e. *rajanna* = *Si*, *rajanya*) which occurs on coins. To me it seems more probable that the word *rona* is derived directly from *rajan*. Perhaps it is the oblique case of this word transferred to the nominative. In any case there can be little doubt that the word corresponds with the modern *rana* used either as the title of a petty chief or as a caste name. In the former meaning it is synonymous with Sanskrit *samanta* and *thakura*. In one of our inscriptions (No. 32) we find the terms *rajanaka* and *samanta* applied to the same person. The word *thakura* occurs in the form *thakura* in the Murla image inscription (No. 48). It is not found elsewhere in the Chamba epigraphs but in the Rajatarangini it is used in exactly the same sense as *rajanaka* to denote a feudatory chieftain. I may add that now a days the titles *rona* and *thakur* are employed promiscuously. A special meaning is attributed to the word *rona* (*rona*?) in Kangra, namely that of queen bee. The equivalent expression in Chamba is *guera raja* in which we seem to have Sanskrit *gora* a swam.

Hitherto the *rajanakas* of the Panjab Hills have been exclusively known from the Rajatarangini and from the Baijnath *prasastis*. The latter acquaint us with a baronial house which ruled for eight generations at Knagiana the modern Baijnath in Kangra and owed allegiance to the Rajas of Urigarta. Their importance may be estimated from the fact that the mother of Laksmarandana the Rana of the time was a daughter of Hidayaandra of Urigarta. The inscription however does not say whether her mother was a Rani. It is certainly opposed to prevailing usage that the head of the illustrious house of Urigarta should give a daughter in marriage to one of his vassals. How punctilious the Katoks were in matrimonial matters, even in the expiring days of their rule is shown by the example of Anand Chand the last ruling chief of Kangra who abandoned his State and everything rather than acquiesce in a matrimonial alliance which he considered below the dignity of his house.²

Even now says the Baijnath eulogy 'exist such wonderful men filled with devotion to Isvara like that store of marvellous virtue the Rajanaka named Laksmarandana who after performing a pilgrimage to Kedara that cleanses from old sin made even this vow. Henceforth shall all wives of others be sisters for me.' What wonder is it that in battle he was secure from assaults by warriors of irresistible bravery since he a Cupid at the head of the bowmen, was not to be subdued

J. R. A. S. for 180 p. 409. Cf. my note J. R. A. S. for 1908 pp. 575 ff.

I owe to Mr. C. Uhlenbeck the opinion that *rajanaka* is derived from the accusative of *rajan* the same as *rajanaka* in the accusative of *thakura* (P. B. Bhatta). Other instances are *rajanaka* from *rajan*.

¹ *Kangra Gazetteer* 1894 (Lahore) p. 18.

² *J. R. A. S.* Vol. I pp. 110 f.

even by that [deity] At present rulers whose commands are disregarded by their opponents—because they deem them to be of small prowess—think the sovereignty over a town to yield its legitimate result only by the rape of the wives of the inhabitants. Fresh youth beautiful shape liberality, sovereignty over a town many flatterers [all these are his] if nevertheless his heart avoids the wives of others what austerity is difficult to perform after that?"

Buhler rightly remarks that the picture of the morals of the time which these verses unfold is certainly not a flattering one. The inscriptions of Chamba show as the ancient Ranas from a more favourable side. No doubt like the knights of medieval Europe they regarded love and war as the great aims of life. But then love was often the devotion of the husband and their warlike spirit was not rarely displayed in loyal

service to their liege lord. Among those endless accounts of treachery and baseness in which Kulhara's chronicle abounds it is refreshing to read of that Rajput from Champa, Somapala, who, as his lord Ling Uccala was attacked by murderers, did not fall into disgrace, when after slaying his assailants he succumbed to their strokes." Of the conjugal devotion of these warlike princes we have ample proof in those quaint fountain slabs which they set up for the sake of the future bliss of their deceased wives. And even more clearly do we find it expressed in the solemn Sanskrit of those eulogies where hidden under the weight of rhetoric



Fig. 18 Site of Rana's castle at Durlot

ornament we still feel the pulsation of true love. Would it be just to cast upon the hero of the Sanshan eulogy the reproach that his love for the beauteous Somprabha was inspired merely by her fair form, which is sung in such flowery measures in that love song carved in stone? Did he not prove his sincerity when, 'to establish a firm friendship between her and the Mountain born goddess' he built a temple to the moon crowned Siva?

In the half obliterated lines of the Mul Kihri stone we still read of the tears shed by the chieftain of that place and his children, when hostile Fate separated her—his most beloved—seated on his lap the delight of his eyes, praised by all mankind—from her husband, even as the passing of the *parvan* separates the Moon sickle from the hot-rayed Sun.

The no less sadly damaged eulogy of Devi Kotla speaks of yet another love—a noble lady, who at her husband's death ready to follow him on the pyre was kept back by her two sons, and who—henceforth whilst by rigid vows of constant fasts she reduced her body to mereanness—brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor and her devotion to Kishna. And concerning it every step the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a gullied of waves restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze she caused a cistern to be made for the sake of the bliss of her laid. I know of no Indian inscriptions in which true human sentiment finds so eloquent an expression as in these two—last unepiaphically mutilated fountain slabs. Nor would it be easy to point to another group of epigraphical records in which the feminine element is so prominent as in those of Chamra.

The inscriptions of Chamra State throw much light on the position formerly held by the brons of the Hills. They show that in the Highlands of the Punjab Rana once existed in considerable number. The ruins of their strongholds are pointed out up to the present day, and still clearer evidence of their former importance is afforded by those huge curved slabs frequently inscribed which they erected over cisterns constructed for the heavenly bliss of deceased relatives. Such inscriptions usually contain the name and sometimes the pedigree of the local Rana to whose piety they were due.

Numerous are the traditions still current in Chamra regarding those Ranas of which the salient point is their spirit of independence and their mutual feuds. It is said that when Sahib swept down the Ravi valley, he found a Rana of the name of Balha settled on the top of Bannu Hill overlooking the site which he had selected for his new capital. The Rana, when called into the presence of the Raja, humbly tendered his submission but as soon as he had returned to his castle he assumed an attitude of defiance. It was then found out that it was the influence of the soil which caused him thus to change his mood. For when at the next *darbar* a lump of earth from his own ground was concealed under the carpet on which the Rana was seated, his

speech became as loud and insolent as if he were within the walls of his own castle

Another legend is associated with the neighbouring hamlets of Bahnota and Sina in Loh Tika where two of our fountain inscriptions came to light. Each of those places so tradition says was once the seat of a Rana. The more powerful of the two used to vex his weaker neighbour until the latter, weary of continuous humiliation, called in a third Rana who promised to come to his assistance in the hour of danger as soon as he should sound his horn. It was not long until the call for help was made but when the third Rana hastened to the rescue of his oppressed friend he found that the latter had sounded the horn without any need merely to test the trustworthiness of his new ally. It is hardly necessary to add that when again the signal was given—this time not without cause—the suspicious workling waited in vain for the protection of his patron and had to submit to any indignity his oppressor chose to inflict on him. The story is only an adaptation of the well known tale of the shepherd boy and the wolf but it shows that the ancient Ranas still live in the memory of the mountaineers as contentious and quarrelsome fellows fighting and oppressing each other as long as they had no common enemy to face.

There is a widespread tradition in the Alpine Punjab that at a remote time the

Independent Ranas

Ranas were independent and held sovereign sway over their baronies although these in most cases do not seem to have extended beyond a few villages. This tradition is to a certain extent supported by the negative evidence of the Svām image inscription (No 12) the earliest document in which the term *rajapala* occurs. It is incised on the base of a stone image of Devī and records that this object was made by order of Rājapāl Bhogita the son of Somata, born in the district of Kisindhr. The inscription is not dated but judging from the characters it must belong to the eighth or ninth century.

The earliest Śrāda inscription of Chamba the *pāśasti* of Sarahan (No 17) which may be attributed to the ninth or tenth century appears also to be the record of a Rana though he is not designated by the title of *rajapala*. Neither here nor in the Svām inscription is mention made of an overlord whereas the Ranas of the eleventh and twelfth centuries invariably date their inscriptions in the reign of the ruling Raja. From this circumstance we may perhaps conclude that Bhogita of Kisindhr and Satyaki of Sarahan were independent chieftains. This is the more probable as they must have lived at a time previous to the founding of Chamba. On the other hand we find a feudatory chief of the name of Asadha as early as the reign of Meru Varman whom he acknowledged as his liege lord. In his inscription (No 9) he calls himself *somata* which as we saw is a term synonymous with *rajapala*.

It is indeed highly improbable that the whole of the Panjab Hills were at any time ruled by Ranas. Without a lord paramount Sir J. B. Lyall rightly observes 'and with no bond of confederacy such diminutive States could never have existed side by side for any length of time. It is pretty certain therefore that with short intervals of complete independence in periods of confusion they must have been more or less subject and tributary to some superior power'. We know from literary sources that the States of Trigata, Kuluta and Kasmin existed and were ruled by Ranas in the earliest period of which we possess cognizance. At the same time the more remote and inaccessible valleys may have been held by more or less independent Ranas. The measure of their ascendancy no doubt depended largely on the influence which neighbouring Ranas could exercise. In the Candrabhaga valley they remained in power until comparatively recent times. The history of nearly every Hill State of the Panjab tells of a struggle between the Raja and the Ranas¹ which curiously recalls the contests of the monarchs of mediæval Europe with their powerful vassals.

It is evident from our inscriptions that in the 12th century the Ranas of Curah and Pangri acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ranas of Chamba. Not only are their inscriptions dated from the year of accession of the ruling Raja but in the Devanagiri inscription (No. 32) it is stated that the local Rana Nagapala received from Lakha-varman the title of *rajanaka*. It is clear, therefore, that in this passage there is a question of the investiture of a vassal by his overlord.

The prominent position occupied by the Ranas in the 11th and 12th centuries is obvious from the copper plate grants where we find them mentioned immediately after the Ranas and at the head of all other State officials. In the charter of Soma-varman (No. 24) two *rajavalas* Bahula and Kahila by name figure as Prime Minister (*Shi mahamatya*) and Great Recordkeeper (*Shi mahaksapatala*). It thus appears that the rulers of Chamba like the contemporaneous princes in Europe sought to attach the feudal lords to their court and from turbulent chieftains converted them into assiduous officials.

This step led to a further development. It appears from the Rajatarangini that in Kasmin the title *rajanaka* came to be given to high officials as a purely honorary distinction. Thus we read that Queen Didda (A.D. 980-1003) called her favourite Arjavahana into the council of ministers and conferred on him the title of *rajanaka*². This practice apparently had become so common that in Kullu's days the term was regarded as almost synonymous with minister. Thus is evident from the following passage in which the chronicler says of king Parvargupta: 'Displaying a conduct in which the royal dignity was combined with the functions of a minister he created the mingled impression of Raja and Rajanaka'.³

¹ Cf. Griffiths, *Rajas of the Punjab*, pp. 681 ff.

² I must note that the word *rajanaka* is due to a restoration.

³ *Rajatarangini* VI 981, transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 200.

⁴ *Rajatarangini* VI 11, transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 214.

The old feudatory Ranas of the Panjab Hillian is belonged naturally to the warrior caste. On the Chamba fountain slabs we see them rudely portrayed as knights on horseback armed with

Medieval of name



Fig. 9. Fountain slab (B. A. S. L. T. 1909, 2)

sword and shield. But the high officials on whom the honorary title of *rajanaka* was conferred were very often Brahmins and thus the word has survived in Kashmir in the form *rajanaka* as a Brahminical family name. It was borne by Rajanaka Ratnakara the author of the *Harivijaya* (9th century) and by many Kashmiri authors of note enumerated in the *Purāṇa prasasti* which Ananda Rajanaka (17th century) had appended to his commentary on the *Narsadiśa*. It may however be questioned whether Ratnakara bore the title *rajanaka* in his own time and whether at so early a date the use of the term was extended to Brahminical officials.

It is curious that in the later Kashmiri chronicles the same title is used to designate Muhammadan officers of rank. This accounts for the use of the word *Rajanaka* as a Muhammadan name which as Dr. Stein observes corresponds exactly to *Rajadika* as a family name of Brahmins.

It is noted above the frequent reference to *rajanakas* in the Chamba inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period. It is remarkable that in the numerous later inscriptions found in the State they are never mentioned. There is no record to show in what manner the Ranas lost their position and power. We can only surmise that those numerous and warlike vassals—not less turbulent probably than the Damaras of Kashmir—constituted a constant danger to the supreme position of the Raja. It must therefore have been his policy to curtail their power and this

the worship of Avalokiteśvara the Great Compassionate is strangely blended with bloody sacrifices of an aboriginal type the Rana takes the leading part Though professedly a Hindu he acts as manager of the famous Buddhist shrine and appoints the lama *gyalpo* The eldest son of the Thilol nath Rana is addressed as *Tilak*



Fig. 20 The Ranas of Ulan, G. G. and S. S.

On the left bank of the Ravi near its junction with the Budhal there are three small baronies held by the Ranas of Ulan, G. G. and S. S.¹ According to local tradition these three *ranhums* were originally one fief, which was granted to the common ancestor of the present Ranas by Raja Mis Brahama on his return from Kulu. The Ulan barony comprises 100 *lashis* or 376 acres and yields a revenue of Rs. 500. The area of the two smaller *jagirs* of G. G. and S. S. is 271 and 235 acres respectively. As the present Rana of G. G. Sahib Singh who is an old man of 70 years of age has no heir to succeed him, his *jagir* will probably lapse on his demise. The same has already happened to the barony of Ranhum Kothi which adjoined Ulan on the other side and has now become a *pargana*. Thus we see how even these few surviving baronies gradually disappear. As now there are no new Ranas created there is a likelihood that in Chamba also the ruling Ranas will finally merge into the agricultural population as has already happened in the neighbouring Kangra valley. At Sam(b)ha in the Ravi valley and at Margi in Lahul there are two more Ranas who still hold small *jagirs*.

Until recently as in the olden days the chief duty of these Ranas was to render military service in the Rana's lodgias. Tradition holds that a Rana of

¹ On the adjacent photograph (Fig. 20) Jodh Singh the young P. N. of Ulan stands in the centre. To his left is the P. N. of G. G. and to his right the P. N. of S. S. The P. N. of S. S. is the P. N. of S. S. The P. N. of S. S. is the P. N. of S. S.

Ul nsa fell at Nauri together with his liege-lord Raja Raj Singh (7th Hai *samvat* 1850) Raja Shyam Singh released the Ranas from their obligation of military service and converted it into a tribute in money of Rs 100 annually in the case of Ul nsa and Rs 70 for Svan. The Rana of Guola has been acquitted of any payment presumably on account of his age.

The chief privilege of the Ranas is the freedom from forced labour (*begar*) or any kind of State service except personal attendance on the Raja if he is in their neighbourhood or on special occasions in the capital. When any of the ruling Ranas dies his heir has to come to Chamba to obtain a charter (*patta*) from the Raja and in the case of the Tuloknath Rana a small robe of honour (*khatat*) is given. On the accession of a new Raja, the Rana of Tuloknath comes to Chamba personally to tender his allegiance and to present a tribute consisting of a number of Lohuh hill ponies.



Fig. 21. Rana family at Silli (Fig. 1)

Besides those six families of feudal Ranas there are still at various places in the State descendants of the ancient Ranas who are in no way distinguishable from ordinary agriculturists except by their name. That these agricultural Ranas are descended from the Rajas of our inscriptions cannot reasonably be doubted. It is proved by the huge fountain-shrine of Salhi in Pangri (No. 33) erected by Rajnarai Ludra-pala as stated in the inscription. The adjoining house is still inhabited by a family of Rana descendants of the founder but now reduced to the humble state of ordinary peasants. When some years ago the stone was thrown down by an earthquake the head of the family took care to re-erect it as being the embodiment of the departed glory of his house.

Other villages in which agricultural Ranas are known to live are Dhunlhi Tisa Gehra (Pyuh *pagara*) Agvay (Rajvay) Loh Tikai Bera, Su, Hungu Ranthum Kothi and Kilar and Sae in Pangri. The Agvay Rana though no longer a *jagirdar* still enjoys freedom from forced labour. It is interesting to note that both at Dhunlhi and Tisa fountain slabs have been found which point to the former existence of Rajanas at those two places.

The social status of the Ranas both feudal and agricultural can be best estimated from their relation to other castes in matrimonial matters. It may be summarized as follows. The Mian Rajputs especially the smaller ones take brides from the feudal Ranas. The latter in their turn, intermarry with their own kind but take also girls in marriage from the Thakurs and the Rathis who are the main agricultural caste of Chamba. The non-feudal or agricultural Ranas intermarry either with their caste fellows or with the Thakurs and the Rathis.

Finally I wish here to insert a note on the existence of Ranas in British

Lahul for which I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Francke.
 In the Tibetan writings Mr. Francke says: I have

met the word only once namely in the Thuan Chronicle discovered by Miss J. E. Duncan in 1907. There the ancestor of the Princes of Luan who came from Leags-mkhan ('Lion castle') in Gugu is called 'Rana Pala'. Pala is certainly a hinduized form of the common Tibetan name *dgal*. The family obtained the title *Rana* either from the Raja of Kulu or from Chamba. Popular tradition asserts that at one time the Raja of Chamba ruled a considerable portion of Lahul. Perhaps the fountain slabs of Lahul date back to that period. The tradition of Gus refers to the days when a Rana dependent on Chamba resided at that place. It is even said that there existed a copper plate issued by a Chamba Raja which was carried off by the Raja of Kulu (possibly Bidhi or Man Singh) at the conquest of Lahul. The fountain of Gus is entirely enclosed in ancient stone slabs. There are also traditions which relate to the Lanas of Gus.¹ Descendants of these Ranas live at Gus up to the present day where they form a father and brother (*pha spu*)hood which perhaps corresponds to the castes in India.

It is curious that on a temple flag from Ladak now in the Lahore Museum, we find the central figure—a three headed six armed green coloured deity of terrific appearance—marked by an inscription as *Rasa Heriga*. He is a Tantric deity about whom little is known. On the picture he is surrounded by eight animal headed witches which are labelled *Lho bya g e* (the southern Eagle) *Zi ba* (Moon) *Zi ba* (Perec) *Lho doo plag* (the southern She-born of the Thunderbolt) *Lhi chen* (Great-God) *Spo lli san* (Wolf dog) *Sgo san* (? Door-keeper) and *Lo si n* ('Keeper of riches').

¹ Cf. Francke *History of the Religion of the Frontier of Ladak* (Lahore 1904) Nos. 11 and 13.

² Cf. G. Unwin *The Mythology of the Baddi* (S. A. T. ed. for V. univ. p. 107).

C—State officials

I now wish to consider what information can be derived from our records regarding the State officials of ancient Chamba. In the list of official inscriptions on three of the copper plates published in the present volume (Nos 15, 25 and 26) we meet with a passage in which the donor addresses his officers who are enumerated in a list of considerable length. The lists in Nos 25 (ll 13-15) and 26 (ll 7-10) are identical except for some slight difference in the order of the names. No 26 adds *vajasthanyas* which perhaps has been left out from No 25 by a clerical error. No 25 has twenty-two and No 26 twenty-three titles including the names of the four castes *brahmana*, *kshatriya*, *vaisya* and *shudra* which in No 25 are found after *vajamatya* and in No 26 at the end of the list. It should be noticed that I have taken *parikara sanniyuktaka anniyuktaka* as the designation of one class of officials though possibly the compound contains two or three different names. The list of Vidagdha's title deed (ll 6-9) omits the four castes but has seven additional titles making a total of thirty-six. Instead of *parikara sanniyuktaka anniyuktaka* we find simply *anniyuktaka* from which it may perhaps be inferred that in reality by the former expression one class of officials is indicated.

Lists of officials like the present occur in inscriptions from different parts of India. A few instances are found in the epigraphical records of the Gupta period. One of the earliest examples is the Kavi copper plate grant (l 8) of the Gujptia king Jayabhata who lived in the beginning of the 5th century. It contains only the following five titles *rajan*, *samanta*, *bhogila*, *visayapati* and *vastigrama malattara* which terms Bühler renders king, feudal chief, governor of a province, governor of a *vide* and chief of a *taluga* and a village. Another instance is the Bihari pillar inscription (ll 27-30) of Skandagupta (A.D. 455 c. 480) in which unfortunately the passage in question is very fragmentary. About a century later in date is the Mahavi copper plate (ll 20-21) of Dhruvasena II and of the Gupta king 252 (A.D. 571-2) which contains a small list of only ten titles. A fuller list partly identical with those in the Chamba copper plates occurs in the Deo Banaraj pillar inscription (ll 7-10) of Jivitagupta II who reigned in the beginning of the 6th century of our era. But here also the stone is badly damaged so that several of the names are lost. Of special interest are the Amraoti (ll 27-31) and Bilgaipuri (ll 30-36) copper plates issued by Viradhapala and his son Narayanapala respectively who both belonged to the Pala dynasty of Bengal and lived about A.D. 1000.² Professor Kielhorn has already drawn attention to the similarity of the lists of officials in these two documents and those in the Chamba title deeds.

It is a question of primary import whether the lists reflect the actual state of affairs in ancient Chamba or whether the authors of the title deeds simply copied certain fixed forms in use all over India without any reference to local circumstances. The agreement between the Chamba lists and those of the Pala rulers of Bengal points to the latter alternative. It is indeed very doubtful whether all the officials enumerated in our documents actually existed in Chamba. We find among them

¹ Cf. J. A. S. P. Vol. V, pp. 114 f.

² Cf. F. F. C. vol. I, p. No. 19, pp. 100 and 119 f. No. 3, pp. 210 and 211 f.

³ Cf. Ind. A. S. P. Vol. V, p. 114, and Vol. XV, p. 300.

the *visaya pati*, the head of a *visaya* or district, but the term *visaya* though known in Kashmir, is not used in the Chamba records which invariably designate a district or *parwana* by the name of *mandala*. The head of a *parwana* as we shall presently see is now a days called *rai* which undoubtedly is the *rata* of the copper plates. In Vidagdha's plate we also find mention of 'those concerned with elephants horses, camels and the forces' (*hastya-astrobala vyapitaka*). The purport of this expression will be discussed subsequently. Here I wish only to point out that a 'superintendent of camels' would have an extremely easy task in Chamba considering that such animals are unknown there. Ces Montagnes says Bernier¹ with regard to Kashmir *sont trop rudes et trop fâcheuses pour leurs longues et rudes jambes. Il faut que les Portes faix supleent aux Chameaux*. This remark holds equally good, if applied to the mountains of Chamba.

Although therefore our conclusion must be that these lists cannot be regarded as authentic for ancient Chamba we may safely assume that they are based on actual conditions in India generally during the 10th and 11th centuries. On that account they do not lose in interest. Unfortunately the individual functions of the officials named are by no means clear as will be seen from the following detailed discussion. I shall follow the order of the titles as found in Vidagdha's grant as it is the earliest and fullest of the three.

All these grants like the Bhagalpur plate start with the names *raja rajanala*
raja *rajaputra* and *rajanatya*. In No 25 the two last-mentioned terms are reversed. There can be little doubt that among the vassals of the rulers of Chamba there were none who could rightly claim the title *raja*. The title *rajadhiraja* literally king of kings, which they adopt themselves in their charters, is indiscriminately used by any independent chief. The Muhammadan historians usually designate the chiefs of the Panjab hill states by the name *samandars*. The title of *raja* was conferred on them by the Mughal emperors as a personal distinction. Thus we read in the *Badshah Nama* that Prithvi Chand (or Singh) of Chamba received the title of *raja* from Shah Jahan in December 1641.

The term *rajanala* has been discussed in the previous section. It is the title
Rajanala by which the vassals of the Rajas of Chamba designate themselves in their inscriptions. It corresponds to modern *rana*. It will be noticed that *rajanala* as well as the following *rajaputra* is a title of nobility or a class name and not the designation of an official. But the fact that the members of these noble classes were commonly entrusted with important State offices explains their being mentioned in the beginning of the list. It is interesting that in the Kavi copper plate quoted above the word *raja* is immediately followed by *samanta* which is synonymous with *rajanala*.

As to the word *rajaputra*, literally 'a king's son' or 'prince' Dr Fleet² is of opinion that in such passages is the present it has some technical official meaning. He adduces Marathi *raut*
Rajaputra or *raut* and Gujarati *raut* 'a horse soldier' or 'trooper' which he derives from Shj

rajaputra and believed to indicate its technical meaning. But on account of its connection with *rajana* and for the reason stated above I see no necessity to assign it here any other than its ordinary meaning. It is however possible that from its original sense of 'the son or near relative of a *raja*' it had already like the modern *royal* come to be used of the nobility in general.

The word *rajamatya* means a minister or councillor (*amatya*) attached to the king. The second member of the compound being synonymous with *sacra* and *mantrin* (from *mantra* = counsel, advice) which has become the Chinese *mandarin*. One of the two officials mentioned by name at the end of Somavarma's plate (No. 4) has the designation of *rajamatya* which we may render by 'prime minister' or 'chief councillor'. His office no doubt corresponds with that of the *wazir* of the Muhammadan period.

In Vidagdha's grant the word *rajamatya* is followed by *rajasthaniya*. It is also found in No. 26 but here the four caste names have rather inappropriately been inserted between the two. The term *rajasthaniya* is occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta period but they give no clue to the exact meaning of the word. It occurs also in the list of officials in the Bhagulpur grant. We know from the Rajatarangini that an office of the name of *rajasthara* or *rajasthanadhalara* existed in Kashmir. It was held by Alankara, the brother of the poet Manu, in the reign of Skandagupta. Dr. Stein remarks that it was connected with the administration of justice and that we may assume that its holder discharged duties equivalent to those of Chief Justice.³

After *rajasthaniya* the list in Vidagdha's title deed contains nine terms not found in the two other plates. The first is *pramata* which apparently does not occur in the Gupta inscriptions edited by Dr. Fleet or in the charters of the Palas. But at the end of the Vidagdha copper plates of Dharmapala III (119) of the Gupta year 334 (A.D. 653) we find a *pramata* Samvaga mentioned as the *data* of the grant. We know also that an official of the name existed in Kashmir for Rama, the poet of the Baijnath eulogies (II vs 37) mentions that his father Bhargava was *pramata* of the king of that country.⁴ These references do not help us to decide on the nature of his office. Here Sivara comes to our assistance. He chronicles after relating how Sultan Zamil⁵ had banished his eldest son Adam Khan and favoured the younger one remarks⁶

अयजानुजयो राजपुत्रयो सुखदुःखयो ।

विपर्ययं व्यधादेवा प्रसातेन विभागिनो ॥

³ *J. A. S.* pp. 10, n. 117 and 118.

⁴ *B. G.* (see plate) a *rajasthan* *gajar* *ku* and the king's plate *rajasthan* *gajar* *ku*.

⁵ *Raj.* (in 18th ed.) Vol. I, p. 316. On the functions of a Chief Justice of India. *Rec. Ind. Soc.* 11-12-13.

⁶ *J. A. S.* pp. 98 and 100.

⁷ *J. A. S.* Vol. I, pp. 115 and 119.

⁸ *Alankara* *Raj.* at 1-20.

' Fate reversed the natural order of the eldest and younger son of the king, like a *pramata* [would do] with two persons having share in an inheritance "

From this passage it is plain that the *pramata* is an officer entrusted with the administration of justice. This agrees with the meaning of the word in literature (a person fit to perceive or judge ' from root *ma*) and accounts for its place in the list immediately after *rajasthany*

Sirohi *agra*

The next term *sasobhanga* I cannot explain. It does not seem to occur either in inscriptions or literature

Kumaramatya

The office of *kumaramatya* is well known from the Gupta inscriptions. Where-as the word *rajamatya* as noticed above, means 'councillor of the king' the term *kumaramatya* may be rendered by 'councillor of the crown prince'. It seems that in the days of the Imperial Guptas there existed, side by side with the State council, a special council to advise the heir apparent who usually took part in the State affairs as co-regent (Shi. *Yuvaraja*). The office of *kumaramatya* appears to have existed throughout the Gupta epoch. Its earliest mention I find in the famous Allahabad pillar inscription (132) of Samudra Gupta in which the title, combined with that of *sandivagrahita* ('minister of foreign affairs') and *mahadanjayaka* ('prefect of police') is borne by Hui-sena the nation of the *prosesti*. It is also found in the lists of officers in the Malwa copper plate and on the Deo Banark pillar referred to above.

Among the inscribed clay sealings of the early Gupta period discovered by Dr. Bloch at Basrah the site of ancient Vaisali there are several which contain the title *kumaramatya* ². The fullest legend runs *Shi Yuvaraja bhuttarala padhya kumaramaty adhitara nasya* which I propose to translate '[Seal] of the Count (or Office) of the Prince & Councillor(s) [attached] to His Highness the illustrious the lord Heir Apparent'. I may also note an inscribed stone *linga* which came to light at Karandande in the Faizabad district of the United Provinces in 1908 and is now placed in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription which is dated in the Gupta year 117 (A.D. 436), mentions a Pithivi-sena who was *mantri* and *kumaramatya* and afterwards general (*mahabodhita*) under Kumara Gupta I. As his father Sikkharasvamin is stated to have been *mantri* and *kumaramatya* under Candragupta II, we may conclude that the office in question was hereditary.

Upadhi

The term *upadhi* is also frequently met with in the epigraphs of the Gupta period but there is nothing to indicate its meaning. In the Bihra pillar inscription it stands immediately before *kumaramatya* so that perhaps we may assume some connection between the two offices. Among the Basrah sealings is one with the following legend *Upadhi bhutya upadhi adhitara nasya* '[Seal] of the Count (or Office) of the Upadhi(s) of Upadhi (i.e. Tulut)'. In the Bhagalpur grant the word *rajasthanya* follows *rajasthanya*

The next word *visayapati* as already noted means 'head of a district (*visaya*)' and occurs on the Kavi copper plate. It is also found in the Indor copper plate grant (I 1) of Skanda Gupta dated in the Gupta year 116 (A.D. 465-6).¹ Among the inscriptions discovered by Mr. F. O. Carter at Sarnath in 1904 there is one in Gupta characters of the 5th century recording the donation of a Buddhist image by a *visayapati* of the name of Sayatva. We have remarked above that as the term *visaya* is not met with in the inscriptions of Chamla there is good reason to doubt whether the office of *visayapati* was known in that State.

In the two grants of the Pala kings referred to we find *visayapati* followed by *gramapati* 'head of a village' and in the Kavi inscription by *vastu grama mahattara* 'chief of a *taluka* and village' according to Buhler's rendering. In Vidagdha's copper plate the word next to *visayapati* is *nihelapati* which is unknown in Sanskrit literature. On the analogy of the above mentioned documents we may perhaps assume that a *nihela* is a sub-division of a *visaya* and a *nihelapati* the officer in charge of such a sub-division. I have little doubt that this term is identical with *nihelapati* found in the Nand copper plate as the designation of the *duta* of the grant.² As the word apparently does not occur anywhere else it seems that the office it denotes was peculiar to the Panjab Hills.

It may seem strange to find among Vidagdha's officials the *Isatriapa* or *satrap*. But we may safely assume that this word is due to a clerical error and has to be read *Isetriapa*. This at least is the form found in both the Amgachhi and Bhagolpur grants where it stands between *gauridala* and *prantapala*. The literal meaning of *Isetriapa* is 'protector of the fields'. The analogous French term *garde champetre* would suggest a police officer.

In our Chamla copper plate also the word *Isetriapa*, or rather *Isetriapa* is immediately followed by *prantapala*. Neither of the two terms occurs as far as I know, in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. The etymological meaning of the latter term would be 'a frontier guard'—the word *pranta* being used in the sense of 'limit'—but it is impossible to decide whether the proposed rendering is applicable to our documents.

The compound *hastyaśvathabala vyapātala* which, as noted above means 'those occupied with elephants horses camels and the forces' may at first sight seem a strange element in a list of State dignitaries. To understand the expression it should be remembered that the army of ancient India comprised four arms—elephant riders horse men war chariots and foot—and on that account was indicated as *caturanga* 'four membered'. It is well known that the game of chess—in reality a war game—

¹ *C. J. I. p. 70 f.*

² *A. R. I. S. f. r. 1964-6 p. 81*

³ *C. J. I. p. 76 and 77*

⁴ *हस्तश्वथबलव्यापतल* *Abtalatala* *cf. Maxmüller The O. G. and Early History of Chess J. R. I. S. f. r. 1963 pp. 117-8*

originally reflected that state of things and has preserved in India the ancient name *catuṅga* in its Persianized form *shatrang* (Arabic *shatranj*). The chariots which play such an important part in the Indian epics fell into disuse, apparently before A.D. 600 as they formed no part of Harsha's army. It would seem that to keep up the ancient tradition of a "four membered" army the 'war chariots' were replaced by a camel corps. This much is certain that in the game of chess, as it is now known in India the chariot has been replaced by the camel. I have little doubt that this change is based on the actual development of the old Indian army. If so, it is evident that the compound *hastyaśtrobala* is synonymous with *catuṅga* the four membered army in its later form, and that the persons concerned with elephants horses camels and the forces are 'officers connected with the four arms of the army' or in general 'all military officers'.

It is interesting to note that the expression *hastyaśtrobala vyapta* may safely be restored in line 10 of the Deo Banaruk pillar inscription where Dr Fleet reads *la ism* (?) *salavyayata*. For it will be noticed that the following compound which is also mutilated is undoubtedly *lisora padava gomahisvajodhadyakṣa* which in the Anagachi and Bhagalpur grants stands immediately after the first mentioned compound. As the Deo Banaruk inscription belongs to the beginning of the 8th century there is reason to suppose that the introduction of a corps of camel riders in the Indian army took place in the 7th century if not earlier.

We have just seen that the two plates of the Pala Kings also contain the expression under discussion in their lists of officials. But it deserves notice that here the word *nau* (ship) is introduced between *astira* (camel) and *bala* (infantry). For an explanation we have to turn again to the history of chess. In a treatise on this game in Raghu nandan's *Lalitavistara* we find the word 'ship' (*Skī nauḥ*) used as the name of the corner piece or 'castle'. It is very curious that in Chamba the castle is still indicated by the name *nau* though few of the inhabitants have ever seen a ship. In the Russian game also the castle is called 'ship' (*ladya*). It would therefore seem that in certain parts of India the ship or rather the navy was adopted as the fourth arm of the army as a substitute for the abolished chariot. We may assume that the choice between camel and ship depended on the geographical position of the country. In the expression used in the Anagachi and Bhagalpur grants we find both introduced. Here the meaning evidently is 'officers connected with the army and navy'.

The next three terms are identical in our three lists. The first three *duta*, *gamagamita* and *abhitaramaya* seem all to have the same meaning—that of 'messengers'. The Bhagalpur grant introduces a fourth synonymous word *prasaṁta*, evidently derived from *preṣaṇa* 'mission'. In the Deo Banaruk inscription on the contrary we find *duta* alone—the only one among these four terms which is found in Sanskrit.

¹ V. S. Smith *Early History* 1904 pp. 116-17 and 206 Cf. S. Gupta Vol. I pp. 30-31.

The H. no. name of the castle is (derived from Skt. *nau*) Latin *Udu* the term; *Udu* as used.

² Cf. Sir W. Jones *On the Indian Game of Chess* in *Res. Vol. II* pp. 103 ff. T. von der L. *Die Geschichte und Theorie des Schachs* in *Leipzig* 1897 pp. 13 f.

literature. The exact meaning of this and the other three terms in our lists of officials is by no means clear. In the *Trail* described in the ninth act of the old Indian play *The Little City Cut* the Court of Justice is compared with an ocean

Whose waters are the King's advisers' deep
 In thought as wave and shells it seem to keep
 The attorney and the sharks and the oysters
 It has its spots that stain the King's files
 Its elephants and horses represent
 The elephant fish on the river bank
 As if with lions of the sea at its feet
 With screaming porpoises, numerous flocks
 While the gulls of serpents are creeping
 Upon the statecraft of the shore the court
 The life of an ocean still keeping
 To which all harmful and evil is sent

Here the translator Dr Ryder renders *luta* by attorney—I do not know on what authority. The meaning which would seem most natural in connection with a law court would be a herald. But it is curious that in the passage referred to the herald is called *sodhana* cleaner because his duty was to keep the court room clean.

It is well known that in connection with grants of land the word *duta* or *dutala* indicates the official who carries out the King's orders—his agent or delegate. Dr Fleet remarks that the *Dutala*'s office was to carry out not the actual charter itself for delivery into the hands of the grantees but the King's sanction and order to the local officials whose duty it then was to have the charter drawn up and delivered. As the person or persons mentioned as *duta* at the end of the grant usually are indicated as the members of some high office—e.g. that of *mal* *ajatala* or *malamutya*—it would seem that their function as *duta* was only incidental. It follows that this word when indicating a certain office holder—is apparently it does in our lists—must have a different meaning. All we can say is that the *duta* was one of the seven state officials who according to Kalhana had existed in Kashmir up to the time of Tilaka.

As the terms *ganagamala* and *abhiwaramana* occur merely in the lists of officials discussed here we can only state that the etymological meaning of these words would be one who goes (*gam*) and comes (*ga*) and one who hurls (*war*).

Kila and *Kilila* are tribal names. In the two Pila grants we find them mentioned together with the Gunda, Malava, Dana, Karnata and Lita—all non-Aryan tribes. The *Khasas*—the *Kil* tribes of modern times—are referred to in the *Brahmasamhita* among the peoples of the north-eastern region in combination with the *Kammas*, *Alisuras*, *Dakas*, *Karas*, *Kulutas* and *Karandakas*. That the *Khasas* are rightly classed with the tribes of the Western Himalaya is evident from the *Rajatarangini*.

Ch. J. H. Fleet C. I. (1917, vol. 2) transl. by A. H. Ryder, Cambridge, Mass., ed. 1905, p. 11.
C. J. H. Fleet C. I. (1917, vol. 2) transl. by A. H. Ryder, Cambridge, Mass., ed. 1905, p. 11.
C. J. H. Fleet C. I. (1917, vol. 2) transl. by A. H. Ryder, Cambridge, Mass., ed. 1905, p. 11.
B. H. H. Fleet C. I. (1917, vol. 2) transl. by A. H. Ryder, Cambridge, Mass., ed. 1905, p. 11.

in which they play an important part. 'The ethnography of the territories immediately adjoining Kashmir,' Dr Stein remarks 'can be traced quite clearly from the notices of the Rajatarangini. In the south and west the adjacent hill regions were occupied by Khasas. Their settlement extended as shown by numerous passages of the chronicle, in a wide semicircle from Kastavar in the south east to the Vitastar Valley in the west. The hill states of Rajapuri and Lohara were held by Khasi families; the dynasty of the latter territory succeeded to the rule of Kashmir in the eleventh century. I have shown elsewhere that the Khasas are identical with the present Khakha tribe to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitastar Valley below Kashmir and in the neighbouring hills belong. We have already seen that the Khakhas have until very recent times worthily maintained the reputation which their forefathers enjoyed as marauders and turbulent hillmen.

Regarding the Kulikas we are not so well informed. The word *kulika* is a generic name means kinsman (from *kula*) and is also assigned the sense of head of a guild. It occurs in the legends on some of the clay sealings (Nos. 28 and 29) found at Basahi by Dr Bloch who renders it by merchant. I have little doubt, however, that in the documents under discussion it is the Khasi, the name of a tribe. It would seem that Kulikat, ancient Kulikagosthi in the upper Ravi Valley received its name from a settlement (*gostha*) of Kulikas.

The mention of these tribes in a list of State officials may be explained from the part which the Khasis played in the history of Kashmir. We read in the Rajatarangini of Tunga the Khasi who through the favour of Queen Didda rose from being employed as letter carrier (*lekhakavala*) to the rank of prime minister. The same man led an unsuccessful expedition against Mahmud of Ghazni in support of Lalocanapala the Shahi king of Gandhara. From the part played by the Khasas in the civil wars of Kashmir we may assume that their chiefs were employed as captains of mercenaries and thus would explain why they ruled among the State officials in our title deeds. Their position may be compared to that of the Scots and Swiss at the court of the Bourbons.

The two terms *santika* and *gautika* are also found combined on the Bihun pillar inscription and in the Amrothi and Bhagalpur copper plate grants. Dr Fleet proposes the conjectural rendering Superintendent of tolls or customs (*santika*) and 'Superintendent of woods and forests (*gautika*). Evidently the words are *vaddhi* derivations from *antika* and *gautika* but it should be noticed that the latter word occurs also in the sense of a patrol. It is therefore possible that by *gautika* a military or police officer is meant. The words *santika* and *gautika* are unknown in Sanskrit literature.

The next word appears as *bandharasa* in plates Nos. 10 and 26 both in the form *bandharasa* in No. 26. We are tempted to consider the latter as the correct form and to regard *bandharasa* as a corruption under vernacular influence. There can be little doubt that Hindi *bandha* 'a straight double edged sword' is derived from the Sanskrit *bandha*. It

¹ *Rajast* (tr. and Stein) Vol. II p. 130. Dr Stein's opinion that the *bandha* (No. 26) was a *bandha* among the *bandhas* of *bandha* is 28th p. 11

shoulder as if to receive betel from an attendant standing behind him. That the office of betel carrier was not an unimportant one we may conclude from the fable of 'The Blue Jackal' in the Prācintānta where we read that the upstart jackal king gave the lion the rank of a minister, the tiger the guardianship of the bed room, the leopard the office of the betel (*tambūla bhāra*) and the wolf the post of door keeper. This passage makes it clear why the *velāṭṭa* is mentioned among the office bearers of the State.

The term *vanayatrika* (No 25) or *vanayatrika* (Nos 1, and 26) according to

Professor Kielhorn is not mentioned in any other grant

1. rasat hn

We can only say that the first mentioned term applies

to be the correct one, the change from *ia* into *ja* in the second being due to vernacular influence (Sanskrit *yajña*=Hindi *yajia*). Etymologically we may interpret the word as meaning 'a person belonging to a military expedition'.

The *apodikhronika* of the three Chambi plates is also mentioned in the lists

4. Surelly and

on the Deo Bai mural pillar and the two copper plates

of the Palu kings The literal meaning is Di-lect

observes is one who is entrusted with the extermination of thieves' from which it may be inferred to be a technical title of a certain class of police officers.

Professor Jolly considers the word as synonymous with *carroddanta* and *carrogiaba* mentioned in the law-books. I may add that the prosecution of thieves

(*cauoddhuana*) is sometimes mentioned as a special privilege conferred on the grantee *e.g.* in the Bhagabhūta grant (l. 42). It corresponds to the *unfangthes* of

Old English law. In case this right is excluded from the donation we find it especially stipulated for by such expressions as *coradantalarissa coradrihtalarissa*

or simply for (6a), a

The two terms *da dila* and *da idanawika* also relate to criminal justice. The

rod (*da da*) is the symbol of judicial power and punish

U r l i n d d n l w r s k a

ment and is therefore used to indicate punishment in

General As in ancient India fine was the most common form of punishment³ we

find in the vernacular the word *dan?* exclusively used in that sense. The term *dandika* or *dandika* and its synonyms *dandin* and *dandapani* occur in literature in

the sense of a police officer

The Dvō Buanak pillar inscription and the two copper plates of the Pala kings have *dandita* and *dandapala* immediately after *caruoddharanila*. The

te in *dandapāsāṭa* is derived from *danda* and *pāsa*, the latter word meaning a sling or snare. The compound *danda pāsa* may therefore be rendered by

'rod and rope' the latter expression indicating punishment by confinement'.
From this it is evident that the *dandapāsika* originally, at least, was an officer

entrusted with the punishment of criminals. In the Chamba copper plates we find a slightly different form namely *dandavasaka*. I feel inclined to ascribe this

¹ *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* (ed. Kellgren) p. 60 and note p. 60; *Of History III* (ed. Schiller) p. 100.

सततम्भन मिहन्वावादीनसमपरिजना प्राप्य

200/100 100/100

It is not

* Among the Barabati clay sealings there are two (Nos 11 and 15) with the legend [Da]ndapradh Laranasya
 which I propose to translate [Seal] of the Court of criminal law. Dr Bloch's reading is [Seal] of the Chief of
 police. Another seal (No 17) has the legend Udayadana ayata Sanyasaya [Seal of the Judge Ignatius]

form to vernacular influence instances of which we have already had occasion to notice in *Handaralā* and *magatāka*. It is curious, however, that, whereas the words *dajalā* and *dandapālā* have the meaning 'police officer,' the Petersburg Dictioⁿ ascribes to *dandarasū* that of 'village elder' and to *dandapālā* that of 'domesticer.' Here I wish only to mention that the last named form occurs in the Siliha fountain inscription (No. 33, l. 2) as the designation of a district officer in P^{ro}va.

The last seven names of the list with the exception of *vinayutalā*, are peculiar to Vaidyadhis charter. The term *bhogapālā* occurs in literature in the sense of "a governor of a town or province, the first member of the compound being a territorial term apparently synonymous with *bhūti*." The latter word is found in proper names like Tribhukti (tribut) and Jugalabhakti (Bundelkhand). Which meaning the term *bhogapālā* has in our copper plate and whether an official of that title existed in Chamba at all I am unable to decide.

After *bhogapālā* comes *vinayutalā*. This word occurs also in the two other Chamba grants but here we find it placed towards the beginning of the list and preceded by *parivāsa samyuktalā*. The word *parivāsa* does not appear to be the designation of an official. At least I have not found it used in that sense in inscriptions, and in literature it always figures as a collective noun meaning 'followers servants.' I therefore take *parivāsa samyuktalā vinayuktalā* to be one expression, in which *samyuktalā* and *vinayuktalā* seem to indicate some contrast. It deserves notice that in the M^{ah}ya copper plate and in the Amgachā and Bhogalpur grants we find *vinayutalā* preceded by *ayuktalā*. The term *ayukta purusa* rendered as 'officer,' occurs in the Allahabad pillar inscription while we find *tanayukta* 'his deputy' in the Almor copper plate (l. 76) of the Gupta year 447 (A.D. 700-7) and *samyukta* appointed in the Tunigarh rock-inscription (l. 9) of Skandagupta. I may also mention *prayutalā* which has been read by Dr. Bloch on one of his Basrah seals. There can be little doubt that all the enumerated derivatives of the past participle *yutā* (root *yug*) must be closely related in sense but the exact meaning of each of them it is impossible to establish.

The following two words *bhagīlā* and *bhogaīlā* are also uncertain. It seems reasonable to connect them with the *dhanda* compound *bhagabhoga* which is frequently met with in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and will also be noticed in the grant of Vaidyadhi (l. 22). Dr. Fleet translates it with 'taxation' a more literal rendering which I have chosen is "share and use." It should, however, be noticed that both words *bhaga* and *bhoga*, are also employed in the Gupta inscriptions as territorial terms and that *bhagīlā* if Budder's interpretation is correct occurs in the K^{an} grant as a synonym of *bhogapālā*.

The meaning of the word *cata*, on the contrary, can be established with full certainty, as it is one of the very few terms in the list which have been preserved up to the present day. And I may at once add that Chamba appears to be the only place in the whole of India in which the word *cata* in its modern form *car* is still extant. That an official of that

designation once existed all over the Indian continent may safely be concluded from the frequent occurrence of the term in inscriptions. In the Mahva copper plate (120) the *cata* and *bhata* are mentioned after the *malattara*. We find both words especially used in the expression *acatubhatapravesa* (as an epithet of the word *grama*) to indicate a certain privilege attached to the donation of a village or village lands. One of the earliest instances of that compound seems to be in the Khoh copper plate inscription of Maharaja Hastin of the Gupta year 156 (A.D. 475-6). Variant expressions are *abhatapra-vesya*, *abhatacchutapra-vesya* and *pratinvidhacatabhataprave-sa*. Dr. Fleet also compares the expressions *samastajagajyanam apavayga* and *rajasevalanam vasatada bhatajagada dan na stah*. The last mentioned expression seems to refer to fines &c., forced contributions of money or supplies imposed by the king's servants when halting at or starting from a village. Dr. Fleet adopts Bühler's interpretation¹ of the word *cata* in rendering it by 'irregular soldiers'. The constant combination of the word with *bhata* 'a soldier' seemed to lend support to that view though in Sanskrit literature *cata* has quite a different sense namely that of 'a cheat', 'deceiver', 'fortune teller'.



Fig. 22. State office at Baidnār.

As noticed above the word *cata* survives in Chamba in its modern form *cat*.

¹ *J. A. S. I.* Vol. V (1846) p. 110 n. and *Gupta I.* p. 98 n.

On the subjoined photograph the man seated in the centre with a stick (danda) stuck in his girdle is the *cat*. The old man standing to his right and the one on the extreme left with a stick (danda) in his girdle are *blatals* and the tall man standing to the cat's left is a *patil* or watchman. Of the two seated in front the old man is an *angarya* or tax-collector and the other a *patil* or tax-collector. All these men wear the national costume of the Galia or shepherd tribe which is the Brahmar *cat* *aral*. Three full-blown *cat* of office. The printed cap is supposed to represent Mount Kailāsa.

This is the title of the head of a *paragana* who is responsible for the internal management of his district for the collection of revenue and the apprehension of criminals.¹ It belongs to the duties of the *car* in case the head of the State, his relatives or officials—and in modern times European travellers also—visit his *paragana* to collect land revenues and supplies. It should be remembered that the carrying of loads on such occasions is forced labour (*begar*) paid according to a fixed rate out of which the *car* receives his commission. The duties and position of the *cata* of the copper plates were no doubt the same as those of the *car*. This explains why it was granted as a special privilege to holders of rent-free lands that the *cata* should not enter their village. It means that the head of the district had no right to seize agriculturists dependent on the grantee for the purpose of forced labour. Nor should he be allowed to call on the grantee to furnish supplies. This is distinctly stated in Vidagdha's grant: 'And of our *catas* and *bhatas* etc. no one will be allowed to enter his (i.e. the grantee's) house to eat or crush his corn, sugarcane or pasture (?) whether green or ripe, nor to take *rocila* (?) or *citola* (?) or cows' milk, nor to carry off stools, benches or couches, nor to seize his wood, fuel, grass, chaff and so on. Not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be inflicted [on him] nor on his ploughmen, cowherds, servants, maid servants and all other people that are dependent on him.' I quote this passage in full as it is of unusual interest in picturing to us the amount of oppression and vexation the ordinary villager who was not in possession of or settled on rent-free land might be expected to endure at the hands of petty district officers. It also supplies us with a valuable commentary on the expression *rega sevadana*—*vasatidandapayanadandau* quoted above from the Pathan grant of Rana Candar of Śrī Śrī at 1193. The substitution of *cheita* (praiseworthy) for *cata* in the Chammil and Siwani copper plate grants of the Vaidya king Prayanaśaśi points to the fact that to the authors of those grants the word *cata* was unknown or unintelligible.

We have seen that in the inscriptions the word *cata* is nearly always coupled with *bata*. The latter means 'soldier' but also 'servant'. I presume that when combined with *cata* it has to be taken in the sense of 'an official subordinate to the head of the *paragana*'. The word *sevala* which closes the list means probably any menial servant in State employ.

In the course of our discussion we have seen that only the following officials named in Vidagdha's list can be said with certainty to have been known in Chamla: *regas*, *regasala* and *rajaputra* (which however in reality are titles of the head of the State, his foundations and viceri relations), *rajamatya* (if synonymous with *malatraya*) *da-darśita* and *cata*. Other officers may be assumed with a high degree of probability to have been well known in Chamla as there is evidence in their occurrence in Kashmir or other parts of the Western Himalaya. Such are *rajasthanis* and

¹ On the present date this is sufficient to identify the *car* of the *paragana* (1907) 11, 115. For the *car* of the *paragana* see C. I. O. 11, 115 for 101 p. 100.

² The *regasala* of the *paragana* is the *regasala* of the *paragana*. In the list of the *paragana* of the *paragana* the *regasala* is the *regasala* of the *paragana*. The *regasala* of the *paragana* is the *regasala* of the *paragana*.

pram tar and *n l e t p a t i*. If we take *lastyuvastabalavapatala* in the sense of officers attached to the army it is evident that this element also must have been present in ancient Chamba. The *clattracchayila* and *retalila* were of course indispensable satellites of the Raja's court.

It now remains to be considered what other officials are mentioned in the

Chamba documents apart from the above discussed

11 exp tal ka

lists. At the end of two of our title-deeds (No 14

1 19 No 26 1 21) we find the name of an official with the designation of

al sapatalila. In two other plates (No 24 1 21 No 25 1 28) we have the same

title preceded by the word *maha* great. It seems that the *mahalsapatalila*

mentioned in these two plates is one and the same person though the form of his

personal name slightly differs in the two cases. It is *Kahla* in No 21 and *Kahula*

in No 25 but in support of my suggestion I may quote the Sarban well inscription

in the Delhi Museum in which the names *Patula* and *Partala* are applied to

one and the same person. It is impossible to say whether the terms *al sapatalila*

and *mahalsapatalila* denote any difference in grade. So much is certain that both

words are used to designate the official who acted as the *duta* of the grant.

The *al sapatalila* is the officer in charge of the *al sapatala* office. The latter

name has been rendered by Court of Justice and Archive but Dr Stein

prefers to translate it as Accountant General's Office on account of a gloss in a

manuscript of the Rajpramangini which explains *al sapatala* as *ganantihpatisilant*.

Dr Fleet renders it as Record Office or Court of Rolls (*taftar*) in the

Khrami Chronicle the word is of frequent occurrence. One passage is of special

interest as it shows that in reality title deeds were issued by the office in question.

It is the story of the low caste Runga the favourite of King Chakravartin. When

the king had granted the village of Helu to Runga as an *agrayana* and the recorder

of official documents (*pattoprihyan*) did not execute the document relating to

the grant (*uanapattala*) then Runga proceeded to the Aksayitaka [office] and in

anger thus addressed that [official]. You son of a slave why do you not write

Rangusa Helu di na (Helu granted to Runga). The idea of a grant of a

village to a low caste man was of course absurd in the eyes of Kahlana as that

of a title deed composed in the vein reads

Two of the Chamba copper plates (Nos 20 1 23 and 26 1 21) mention after

is read

the *mahalsapatalila* who acted as the *duta* of the

grant two officials designated as *larana layastha*

who were the writers of the document. Buhler⁴ assumes that in this compound

larana is perhaps only a synonym of *layastha* as the law books mention the *khrami*

is one of the mixed castes. I prefer to follow Kielhorn in taking *larana* in the

sense of 'red-d, legal document'. The word *larana* which he renders by 'writer

of legal documents' is synonymous with *larana layastha*.

¹ *J. Ind. Vol. I pp 411* *Out. Del. M.* (Calcutta 1908) pp 33-4

² *Note at Royal V. Vol. of Brierley's* *Indic. Int. Leg. p. 1* *and Fleet p. 10*

³ *Vol. V pp 8* *transl. Stein Vol. I p. 28*

Indic. Int. Leg. p. 4 *transl. Fleet p. 109*

The Brahman grant of Yugakura (No 11) mentions only one writer who has the designation *layastha*. In No 15 we find only the writer's personal name. In No 2 the corresponding passage of the inscription is partly lost but the syllables *ra* [re] [a] are still legible. Evidently *la* stands for *layastha* and *ra* [re] [a]. I propose to restore as *Devapena* the Instrumental case of *Devapa*, this being the name of the father of the *layastha* Śivapa mentioned in Nos 2a and 3. If this restoration is correct it would show that the office in question—as we should have expected—was hereditary. In the Salhi fountain inscription (No 33 l 3) mention is made of a *Kayastha* Sekha, his knowledge of Sanskrit certainly being a great deal to be desired.

The *layasthas* who are mentioned in inscriptions from the 8th century are a case of chiefs. We have seen that in the passage from 'The Little Clay Cart' quoted above these scribes are dubbed the snakes (we should say 'shails') of the kingdom. This agrees well with the part they play in the *Paṭavargana* where their oppression is frequently complained of. The Comtezan says Kālha 'the scribe (*layastha*) the chief (*laya*) and the merchant being [all] deceitful by nature are [in this respect] superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been trained to touch and release. That the modern *Kayastha* or *Kanath* enjoy no better reputation may be inferred from the Persian proverb

اگر سکار سال اند از سر شد اس کم تری
نی باشد درم کفوه سرم لباب کسوتی

I.e. if you tell a lie of an one he will not make free ship with thee, first the Ka the second the Kanath and the third the red Kālha.

The influence of the *layasthas* on the development of the Indian alphabets has been noted by Bühler. The modern form of Nagari in use in Bihar is called after them *Kanail*.

I now wish to draw attention to an interesting passage in the Salhi fountain inscription (No 33 l 2) in which we find the names and designations of the local officials of Pangri at that time (A.D. 1170). They are *Seyana* Śa Kalya, *Pratikāśa* Śa Nerkha, *Devaprasāda* Śa Śa Śa and *Koshtila* śa Śa Śa Śa Śa Śa. As the words are given in Sanskrit or correctly spelled Sanskritized forms it is impossible to say which terms were actually in use. We can only assume that they did not differ materially from those used in the inscription. The document does not supply any information regarding the functions of these officials. All we can say is that in all probability they are mentioned in order of rank.

The chief official of Pangri at that time would therefore be Kālha (probably Sanskritized *Kalu*) who bears the curious title of *Segana*. This word is not Sanskrit. According to a suggestion for which I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Francke the word is perhaps a corruption of Tibetan *sogampa* meaning 'a custom house officer or tax collector'. If this

¹ *It.* at VIII 131. *Trav. et. Sc.* Vol. II p. 17.

² Another 100 p. version has for one of the personal mentions the Afghan instead of the Kanath.

interpretation is correct it would point to the occupation of Pangi by some Tibetan power previous to Chamba rule. Anyhow we may assume that the functions of the *segana* were substantially the same as those of the head official of Pangi who until recent times bore the title of *patana*. This term which is not found in other parts of Chamba, is the designation of the head of a *pargana* in Mandi State and is known to have existed in Kulu also where it has been replaced by the term *nep*.

The next official *Nenula* (probably Sanskritized *Nenā*) has the title of *pratihara*. This term is also found in the frontier inscriptions of Sui (No. 35) and Nal (No. 39. 1. 2) as the designation of a local official.

In Sanskrit literature the word *pratihara* is used in the sense of "a door-keeper or porter." Among the five officers created by Lakshmi-deva of Kusun the first is that of *mahapratihara*.¹ Dr. Stein renders it by "High Chamberlain." The same term occurs in the Alor copper plate of Śīlo-deva VII (l. 73) as the designation of the *duta* of the grant who has also the title of *mahā-samudāya* discussed above. We have already noticed it in combination with *tanayana* on one of the Basu clay sealings. In the list of officials in the Angach and Bhagulpur copper plates the *mahapratihara* is mentioned immediately after the *mahāsenapati* "the Commander-in-Chief."

In the Gwahar inscription of Bhoja² (l. 3) Lalasana is called the *pratihara* of Rama, on that account the rulers of Bhoja's House who claimed descent from Lakshmana were known by that name. In the same document the word is explained by a fanciful etymology from *pratiharān*. At first sight it may seem strange that the office of "door-keeper" was considered of such importance. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dhyani Singh the powerful minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh held the post of *darbkhana* or "chief door-keeper." Drew³ rightly remarks that "in a native court, a place of personal government, the door-keeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or restraining access to the chief has considerable influence."

It is clear, however, that the term if applied to a district official in Chamba can mean neither "door-keeper" nor "chamberlain." It is evidently an instance of the same position as the modern *lilkhana* who is the deputy of the *dar* keeps the revenue accounts and does the clerical work. I do not of course assume any etymological connection between the two words.

The title *dandavasilā* borne by the third official of the Salhi inscription has already been discussed above. Here also we shall have to assume a deterioration in meaning at least if the word is derived from Sanskrit *dandapāśila*. What in the present instance the

¹ *Recueil* IV 142 trans. Stein Vol. I p. 1133.

² *Gupta Inscriptions* pp. 180 and 199.

³ *A. R. A. S.* 1903 I pp. 280 and 281.

⁴ *Times* p. 1.

functions of the *dendrasila* were it is impossible to say. Perhaps he was subordinate officer corresponding with the *bhaktal* of modern Chamba.

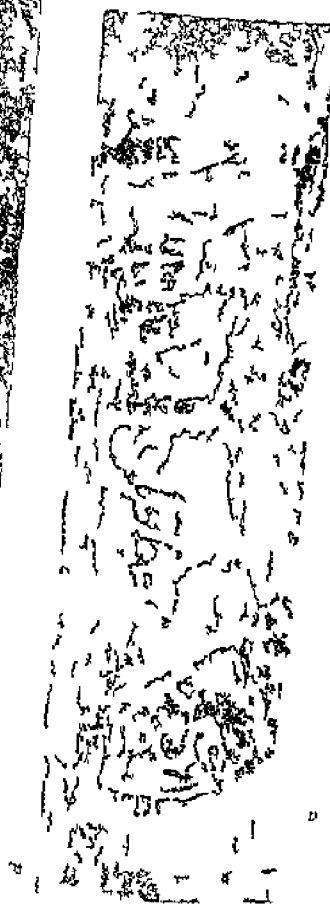
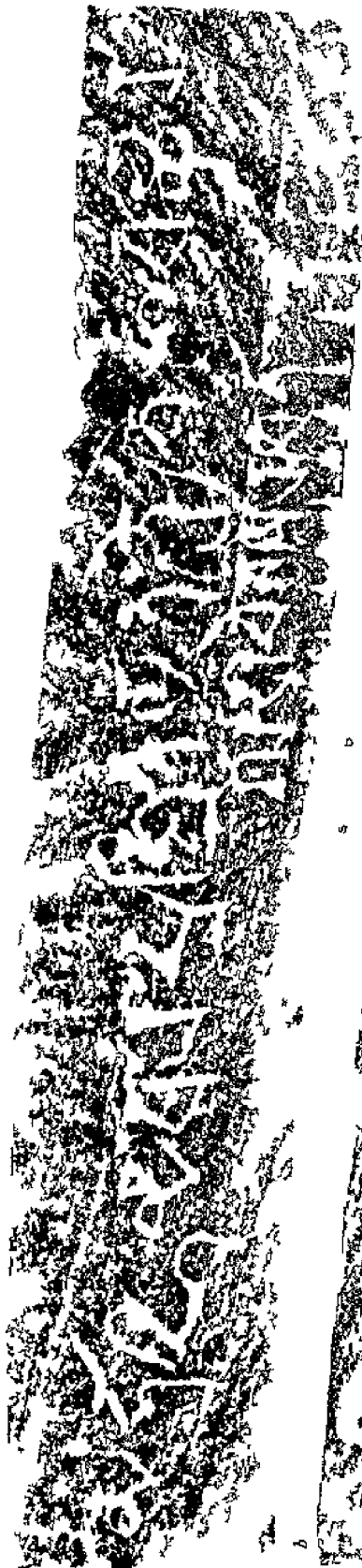


FIG 23. Site north of Bhadravati destroyed by the earthquake of 31 April 1305.

The last official mentioned in the inscription bears also the title of *seguia* and may therefore have been a revenue officer. But besides

Stat. 101

he is called *lathila satla* which probably means that he was attached to the *lath* (St. *korlila*). It should be remembered that each *pargana* contains a State granary (*lath*) in which the local officers live and in which the revenue collected in kind used to be stored. In a Chamba copper-plate No. 251 (31) mention is made of such a granary (*kusthagara*) at Bhadravarma modern Bhadravati not far from the capital. This explains why in Kulu where once the same system of administration existed the word *lath* is used in the sense of *granary*.



TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Nos 14—PANALI NALA ROCK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATE VI)

THESE rock inscriptions are found in the Panali Nala not far from Guin which was once the head quarters of a *pargana* of the same name but is now included in the Luli *pargana*.

The letters are of a cursive type which makes it in many cases difficult to establish their value. The main interest of these inscriptions is the circumstance that they are the oldest epigraphs hitherto found in Chamba territory. On account of the character I feel inclined to assign them to the 7th century.

The first inscription (Plate VI a) consists of two lines 2.1 and 7 long respectively. The letters in the upper line are partly uncertain. The following is a tentative reading

मह(२)हिमवारा मुद्रित ष(२)त ते ते न(२)वच्छरा

(1 2) गोरदीवेन [लिखित]

The only part of the reading which appears certain is *avalara* at the end of the first line and *Goradivana* at the beginning of the second line. The latter is probably a personal name. I presume that *v* has been substituted for *e* and that the name is in reality Goradiva. There are other instances of the substitution of *v* for *e* in the Chamba inscriptions. This points to Kāśmīr influence as the pandits of that country usually pronounce *e* as *v* in Sanskrit words. After the instrumental case *Goradivana* we naturally expect a past participle. Perhaps we may read *lililara*, assuming that the vowel stroke of *lil* has erroneously been drawn through the *avalara* instead of at the side of it.

The second inscription (Plate VI b) consists of a single line 1.2 long. It contains eleven *aksaras* 1 to 2¹ high. It will be noticed that it partly agrees with No. 1. I read it tentatively

त्रि[स]वारा प्रद्वितया एते भ

The third inscription (Plate VI c) consists of one line, 5¹ long, of only six *aksaras*. I read it एते सवच्छर which corresponds to Sanskrit एतस्मिन्सवत्सरे "In this year." Possibly the numeral or numerals expressing the year have become lost. The use of Pīali in an inscription of this period is remarkable.

The fourth inscription (Plate VI d) consists also of one short line 6 long, of six *aksaras*. It reads श्री नमः [१] शिवाय 'Adoration to Śiva.'

(a) Image of Śikṭi Dev



HEIGHT 4.6

(b) Image of Lalṣan Dev



HEIGHT 4

of Gugga's works and we cannot but admire the skill with which he has succeeded in imparting majesty to the grotesque features of the elephant faced god.

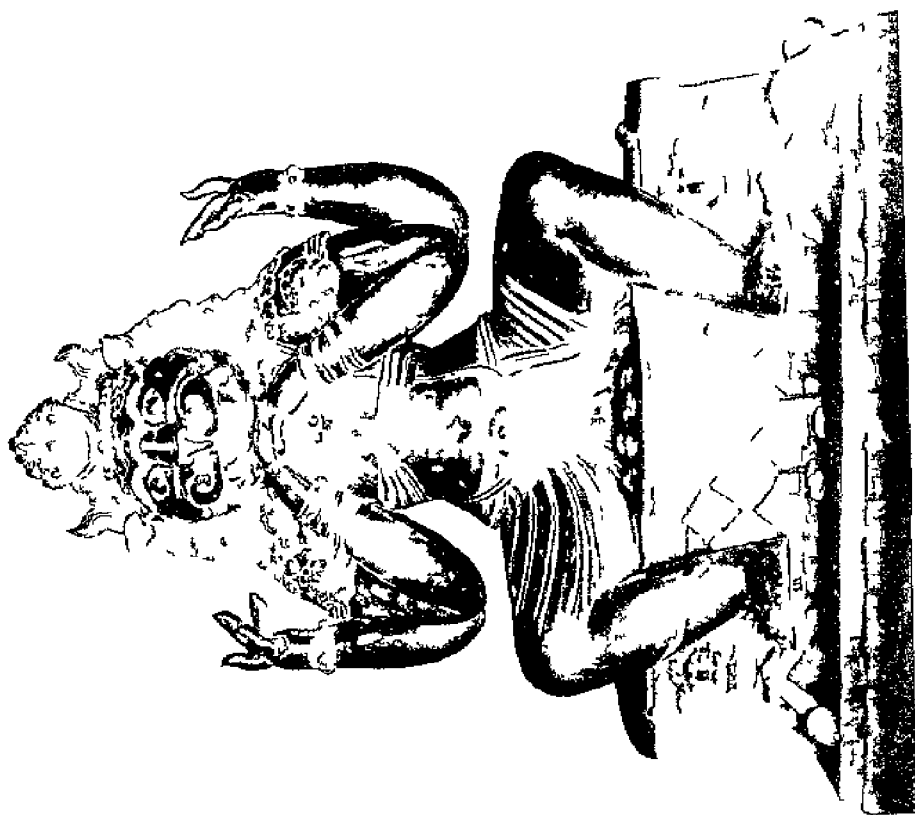
The bull Nandi (locally called Nandigan) the vehicle of Śiva, stands in front of the temple dedicated to that deity under the name of Maamabhes. 'The execution (from Cunningham's view) is stiff and rigid with all the features much exaggerated.' The location of the bull is mentioned in the *Pamśavali* (stotra 47) which asserts that Meravarman wrote on it his royal decrees. This tradition which exists up to the present day does not unfortunately, agree with the facts. Strange to say the *Pamśavali* does not mention the founding of the temple itself. The bull is of considerable size being 5 high to which the pedestal adds 13. It should be noted that the tail the right ear and the bell suspended from the neck of the animal are broken. It is believed that this damage was done on the occasion of a foreign invasion but tradition fails to supply any reliable information as to the nationality of the invaders. The people agree in asserting that they were not Muhammadans. These certainly would have done the work of destruction more thoroughly. According to some the invaders came from Yaukand. The *Pamśavali* (stotra 48) relates that in the reign of Lalasa Varman the grandson of Meravarman the Khas invaded Chamba and killed the Raja in battle. It seems not unlikely that the damage done to the statue as well as to the Ganeśa image may be connected with this invasion.

Śakti Devi of Chitrakūṭa is more properly named Śivasakti, from which it appears that she represents the female energy of Śiva commonly called Maheshvari (from Maheshvar = Śiva). This explains also why a stone effigy of Śiva's bull Nandi is placed in front of the shrine. The image which is 16 in height is four armed. The chief attribute is not a trident as one would expect but a lance¹ which is an attribute not of Śiva but of his son Kumara or Karttikeya. Possibly it implies an allusion to the name of the goddess Sanskrit *śakti* meaning both power and 'lance'. In the other right hand she holds a full-blown lotus flower—the general Indian symbol of beauty and grace. The two left hands grasp a bell and a snake. The meaning of the bell has been indicated above. The snake whatever its original significance may be is decidedly a Śiva emblem. The goddess is standing on a conventionally treated lotus beneath which the inscription is engraved.

The language of Meravarman's inscriptions is Sanskrit, but of an extremely ungoverned type. The substitution of *v* for *b* and the doubling of *l* before *i* (got *la*, pull *la*) and of *g* or *l*, *m* and *v* after that letter (*ḍurgga*, *aroca* *kailla*, *varmanan* *puṣṇam*) are too common in Sanskrit epigraphs to call for special notice. A more serious error is the substitution of *o* for *au* in *goti* and the use of forms like *ṭarapita* for *ṭarita* and *ṭarmin* for *ṭarmina*. The Lalasa and Ganeśa inscriptions are in prose the other two in verse the Nandi inscription in the *Pamśavali* is in verse that on the Śakti image in what is evidently meant for the *Indravajra* metre. The numerous grammatical as well as metrical mistakes occurring in the two latter epigraphs do not suggest great ability on the part of Meravarman's poets. They obscure the meaning to such a degree that it is

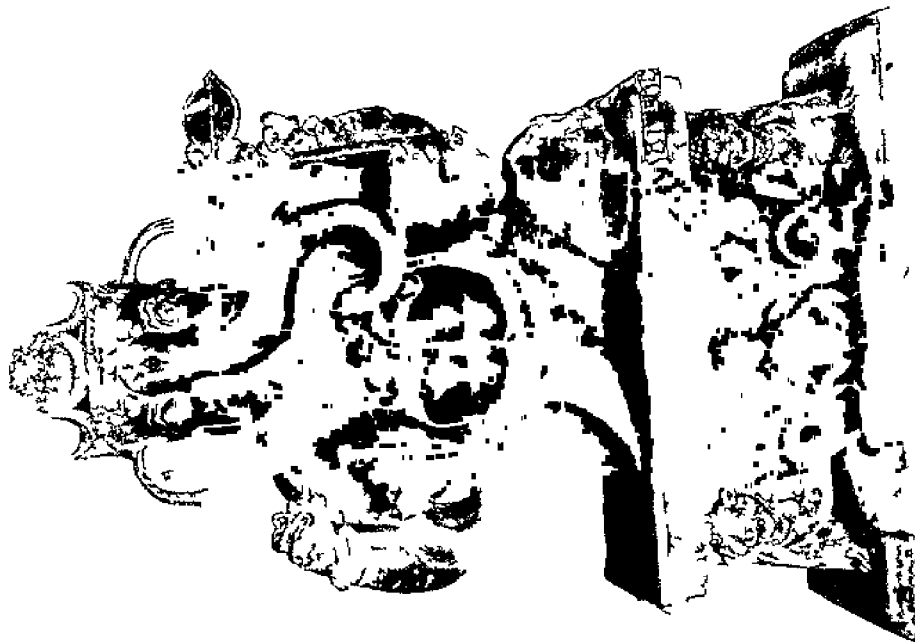
¹ C. in. m. nam calls it a sceptre. The temple attendants informed me that this lance is a modern addition. The bull's image held long only its proper emblem—the trident (Śkr. *triśula*).

(b) Image of Narasimha



HEIGHT 3'

(a) Image of Ganesha



HEIGHT 3'

only possible to establish the general purport of the inscriptions. In transcribing them I have attempted to correct the numerous mistakes which will be obvious to any one possessing the most elementary knowledge of Sanskrit. A disregard of *samāh* rules is noticeable throughout.

The inscriptions of Meruvarman are not dated. According to Cunningham¹ the character would be that of the ninth and tenth centuries. It should however be noted that the script of Meruvarman is much earlier than the Śāla character which must have existed as a distinct type as far back as the tenth century and was in common use in the Punjab Hills by that time. Hence it is difficult to assign to these inscriptions a later date than the eighth century. On account of the striking resemblance of their scripts to that found on the Multan copper plates of c. A.D. 700 I am inclined to place them rather in the beginning than at the end of that century. This conclusion well agrees with the place assigned to Meruvarman in the Chamba *Tamsavān*. It should further be noticed that the sacred syllable *om* is regularly expressed by a symbol which is derived from the sign for *O* as found in inscriptions of the seventh century but which in some cases is placed vertically. In the Laksana legend we twice find at the end of a sentence a symbol consisting of two concentric circles the inner one approaching a dot². In the same inscription the use of the *jihvamulīja* should be noticed.

NO 5—LAKSANA IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(PLATE X)

The inscription on the image of Laksana consists of two lines 15 and 17, long respectively. The average size of the letters is from $\frac{3}{8}$ to . The engraving is well executed. The epigraph records the construction of the image by the workman Gugga by order of Meruvarman whose three immediate ancestors are enumerated together with the mythical and the presumably historical progenitor of his race—Aditya the Sun god and Mosina. The main point of interest from a linguistic point of view is the word used to indicate the image. Cunningham read in the second line *devyarcacāṭa pitā* but the syllable which he read *ṛā* can only be *ḷā*. It is further evident that the preceding compound contains the word *araca* which means worship but which must here be taken in the sense of object of worship. Another instance of a similar misapprehension of meaning is found in the word *ḷāṭi* meaning glory but which in inscriptions is used for 'an object of glory a glorious work'. In that sense we shall presently find it in the Nandi image inscription³.

The faulty form of *devyarcacāṭ* seems to be due to confusing the alternate forms *deya arcaḷ* and *devy arcaḷ*. The *a* of the last syllable must in any case be lengthened. It should also be noted that the word *araca* stands in the plural.

¹ *Asiatic Researches* 1, 141.

² *Asiatic Researches* 1, 141.

³ *Asiatic Researches* 1, 141. The supposition that the *araca* is the plural of the *araca* is supported by the fact that the *araca* is the plural of the *araca*.

⁴ Cf. *Asiatic Researches* 1, 141 footnote C.

⁵ *Asiatic Researches* 1, 141. The *araca* is the plural of the *araca* (or *araca*).

ILXI

गोम् ॥ श्रीपूणस्वर्गोच्चादित्यवशमभूत् श्रीमदादित्यवर्मदेव प्रपौत्र श्रीवल्लवर्मदेवपौत्र श्रीदिवा-
करवर्मदेवपुत्रेण ॥ (1 2) श्रीमेरुवर्मणा आत्मपुण्यद्वये लक्षणादेव्या अर्चा × कारिता ॥ • ॥ कर्मणि
गुणेन ॥ ० ॥

CORRECTED READING.

आम ॥ श्रीपूणस्वर्गोच्चादित्यवशमभूत् श्रीमदादित्यवर्मदेवप्रपौत्र-श्रीवल्लवर्मदेवपौत्र-श्रीदिवा-
करवर्मदेवपुत्रेण (1 2) श्रीमेरुवर्मणात्मपुण्यद्वये लक्षणादेव्या अर्चा × कारिता कर्मणि गुणेन ॥

TRANSLATION

Born from the own house (*gotra*) of Mosuna¹ and from the Solar race the great grandson of the illustrious lord Aditya Varman, the grandson² of the illustrious lord Balivarman, the son of the illustrious lord Divakara-varman (1 2) the illustrious lord Manurman for the increase of his spiritual merit, has caused the holy image of the goddess Lalana to be made by the workman Gugga

No 6—GANESHA IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(PLATE V)

The Ganesha image bears an inscription in four lines of unequal length (13 to 5, 1). The fourth line is divided into two by the head of the grotesque figure noticed above. The size of the letters is from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The execution is fair. The contents—it will be seen—are almost identical with those of the Lakshana inscription. Instead of the word *pautra* we find here the curious term *anypotra* (read *anypautra*) which evidently owes its origin to a wish to emphasize the distinction between *pautra* and *prapautra* the meaning being the same as that of *pautra*. The word indicating the gift was read by Cunningham *devarama(n)* but *varman* never has the meaning of 'an image'. The third syllable must be *dha*. Evidently the expression intended by the author of the inscription was *deyadharmā*³ the term commonly used in the epigraphs of the Gupta period to indicate 'a pious gift' and regularly followed by *gām*.

TEXT

श्री नम गणपतये ॥ सूपूणस्वर्गोच्चादित्यवशमभूत् श्रीमदादित्यवर्मदेव प्रपौत्र (1 2) श्रीवल-
लवर्मदेवपुत्रेण श्रीदिवाकरवर्मदेव सुतना ॥ (1 3) महाराजाधिराज श्रीमेरुवर्मणा कारापिते देव-
धर्मो य ॥ (1 4) कर्मणि गुणेन ॥

CORRECTED READING

श्री नमो गणपतये ॥ सूपूणस्वर्गोच्चादित्यवशमभूत् श्रीमदादित्यवर्मदेवप्रपौत्र (1 2)
श्रीवल्लवर्मदेवपौत्र श्रीदिवाकरवर्मदेवसुतना (1 3) महाराजाधिराज श्रीमेरुवर्मणा कारितो देव-
धर्मो य (1 4) कर्मणि गुणेन ॥

¹ Cunningham took the syllable *ma* to be part of the proper name. I believe that it belongs to the following word and has to be taken as a separate word.

² As remarked by Dr. Fleet *G. pta I* r p 15 footnote 3 the more correct reading of *prapautra* and *praputra* would be 'son of son's son' and 'son's son'.

³ Cf. Fleet *G. pta I* ser p 15 footnote 5. The expression *deyadharmā* for *devadharmā* occurs in inscription No 9 of the present volume.

Brasen Bull of Mc u va man



TRANSLATION

Adoration to Gṛnapati Born from the own house of Musuna and from the Solar race the great-grandson of the illustrious lord Aditya varman the grandson of the illustrious lord Bala varman the son of the illustrious lord Divikṛa varman, the king of kings the illustrious Meru varman has caused this pious gift to be made by the wool man Gugga

No 7—NANDI IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(PLATE X)

On the image of the bull Nandi we find two lines each 32 long the name of the maker being added in the third line of 14 The letters the average size of which is 3 are very distinct Unfortunately the author of the inscription has performed his task in a less satisfactory manner than the artist His knowledge of Sanskrit grammar was evidently very imperfect and the whole record looks like a conglomerate of words and expressions borrowed from other native inscriptions but only partially understood or altered to such an extent as to render them unintelligible So much is certain that the inscription records that Meru varman built a temple which with an evident allusion to the founder's name is said to have equalled Mount Meru in height In front of it he placed the bull on which the inscription is found The second half of the first stanza which contains a description of the temple in question is very obscure owing to the use of what seem to be technical terms denoting various members of the building

Unfortunately it is by no means certain that the present temple is the edifice founded by Meru varman Its style is that of the ordinary *śiṭṭa* temple which is at this early period and in such close proximity to Kāśmīr one would expect to find the style of the ancient Kāśmīr temples which, as we know, was also in vogue in the plains The façade of the Lal sāna temple has the trefoil arch enclosed in a triangular pediment which forms such a typical feature of the Kāśmīr temples This would indicate that the Kāśmīr style was known in Chamba in the days of Meru varman, who—it should be remembered—was well nigh contemporaneous with the great Lalitāditya the founder of the famous temple of Maṇḍi It should also be noticed that our inscription seems to imply that Meru varman's temple was provided with a *menṭapa* whereas the present shrine consists only of a cella entered through a porch to which that appellation can hardly be applied (Cf fig 16)

In ancient Hindu temples we may usually find the figures of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā on both sides of the entrance Such for instance is the case with the temple of Maṇḍi In one of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* too it is distinctly stated that figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā were placed at the entrance It deserves special notice that they are also found carved in wood on the temple of Lakṣmā Devī In each instance the two river goddesses are distinguished by their vehicles—the crocodile (*maṭara*) and the tortoise

¹ T. 101 up to 103 of the original N. 1. 101 is the first line

² T. 101 of the original N. 1. 101 is the first line

³ M. J. C. Cole has interpreted these figures as the crocodile and the tortoise in Plates 15-16

In temples of a later period we usually still find two female figures flanking the entrance to the sanctum. But then true meaning has become lost and the characteristic vehicles of the two river goddesses have either been omitted or changed into meaningless animals. This is the case in the temple of Manimahesa where the crocodile and the tortoise have developed into birds apparently geese. This is another sign of the late date of this temple. Considering that the temples of Laisana, Salta and Gamara are all built of stone and wood and decorated with woodcarvings it seems highly probable that the *Siva temple of Meru varman* was a shrine of the same type which at a later period was replaced by the present stone temple.

The word *lata* as has been remarked above is used here in the sense of 'a work which renders its constructor famous'. The compound *Sri Meruvarmanata odadi lata* will be readily understood by comparing an expression like *cat yadulha smatiranta lata* which is found elsewhere in epigraphical records.¹ At the end of the inscription the object of the donation is said to be the increase in religious merit of the founder and his parents.

TEXT

यत् प्रसाद मेरुमदृश हिमवन्मूर्ध्नि कृत्वा स्वयं प्रवर कर्मशुभैरनेकैः तच्चन्द्रशालरचितं नवनाभं
वास प्राग्श्रीवर्कस्त्रिविधमण्डपनैः कश्चिच्चैः ॥ (1 2) तस्याग्रतो वृषभं पीनं कपोलकायं मन्त्रिष्ट-
वच्छक्रकुदोन्नतदेवयानं श्रीमत्स्वभ्रं चतुरोदधिकीर्तिरेषा मातापितृ मत्तमात्मफलानुवृद्धे ॥ (1 3)
इतः कर्मणि गुण्येन

CORRECTED READING

श्रीस ॥ प्रसाद मेरुमदृश हिमवन्मूर्ध्नि कृत्वा स्वयं प्रवर कर्मशुभैरनेकैः । तच्चन्द्रशाला
रचिता नवनाभिरामा प्राग्श्रीवर्कैः विविधैर्मण्डपैर्नैकश्चिच्चैः ॥ (1 2) तस्याग्रतो [स्थापितो] वृषभ
पीन कपोलकाय मन्त्रिष्टवच्छक्रकुद उन्नतदेवयान । श्रीमत्स्वर्भणश्चतुरोदधि[समतित्तान्]कीर्तिरेषा
मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च मत्तमात्मफलानुवृद्धे ॥ (1 3) इतः कर्मणि गुण्येन ॥

TRANSLATION

After that he had himself built a temple like unto Mount Meru on the top of the Hinayant through the manifold bliss of [his] good works an upper chamber (*condrasala*) delightful to the eye, was added to it with various porches (*mandapa*) and numerous ornaments (*citra*) turned towards the east, in front of it [was set this bull fat of cheeks and body compact of breast and hump the exalted vehicle of the god (*Siva*)] This is the glorious work of the illustrious Meru varman [famous] over the four oceans [tending] continually to increase the [spiritual] fruit of his parents and himself. Made by the workman Guggu.

¹ Ep. Ind. I. p. 389 Varman's upper plate see also p. 27 n. 3

The reading of the third *pada* of the first stanza is problematic. For the term *ava abhaya* (if this is the correct reading) I can offer a plausible explanation. Possibly it stands for *avayabha* or perhaps *avayabha* ought to be *avayabha*. Cf. Ep. Ind. Vol. VII p. 1. Nor is it clear what sense is to be made of *brāhmin* in the next line.

Lakshmi Image Inscription

ॐ श्री लक्ष्मी देव्यै नमः ॥ यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता ॥
ॐ श्री लक्ष्मी देव्यै नमः ॥ यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता ॥

Ganesha Image Inscription

ॐ गणेशाय नमः ॥ यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता ॥
ॐ गणेशाय नमः ॥ यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता ॥

Nandi Image Inscription

ॐ नन्दिन्यै नमः ॥ यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता ॥
ॐ नन्दिन्यै नमः ॥ यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता ॥

Sakti Image Inscription

ॐ शक्तिदेव्यै नमः ॥ यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता ॥
ॐ शक्तिदेव्यै नमः ॥ यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता यथा देवता ॥

No 9—ŚAKTI IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(PLATE X)

The inscription on the image of Śakti Devī at Chatarhi consists of two lines each 1 3 long. The maker's name is mentioned in a separate line of 3" placed behind the former two. The engraving is inferior to that of the Brahman inscriptions. The shape of the letters which measure only from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1" in the average, is indistinct and the value of several of them uncertain. The inscription moreover, exhibits the same want of grammatical knowledge on the part of its author as that on the bull Nandi discussed above.

TEXT

आ आसी गिगदकुलधुर्यवाको श्रीदेववर्मेति प्रसिद्धकीर्ति तस्य सुत सर्वगुणाभिराम श्रीमेरु
वन्मा प्रथित प्रियव्या ॥ (1 2) सातापितृ पुण्यनिमित्तपूर्व कारापिता भक्तिता एव (?) शक्ति
जित्वा रिपू दुर्जयदुर्गसस्या कीर्तिर्यशोवर्षे विहृष्यतायु ॥ (1 3) कृत कर्मोण गुणेण ॥

CORRECTED READING

ओम ॥ आसीद्विशदकुलधुर्यवाको श्रीदेववर्मेति प्रसिद्धकीर्ति । तस्य सुत सर्वगुणाभिराम
श्रीमेरुवन्मा प्रथित[यशः] प्रियव्याम ॥ (1 2) सातापितृपुण्यनिमित्त पूर्व कारिता भक्तिता एव
शक्ति । जित्वा रिपून्दुर्जयदुर्गसस्याहीनियशोवर्षविवर्धितायु ॥ (1 3) कृत कर्मिणा गुणेन ॥

TRANSLATION

There was an eminent chief of a pure race the illustrious Deva varman of celebrated fame. His son charming by every virtue [is] the illustrious Meru varman, renowned on the earth. First for the sake of the spiritual merit of his parents he out of devotion caused the image of Śakti to be made after having conquered [his] foes in their invincible strongholds. He who has prolonged his life by glory fame and religious merit.

No 9—GUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMANTA ASADHA-DĒVA

(PLATE XI)

Gum¹ (map Gm) is situated on the ancient road from Chambari to Braluani which follows the hill slopes along the right bank of the river Ravi. It was once the headquarters of a *pargana* of the same name which together with the former *pargana* of Bulj (map Bulj), is now included in the Jalh *pargana*. The State *lokhs* of Gum is still extant. At some distance from it there is a Devī shrine surrounded by a considerable number of *lingas*. Tradition holds that their number once amounted to 101. On the same spot near the edge of the precipice a squared stone is found 3 2 long and broad by 9" in height. Apparently it once served the purpose of a *linga* stand. On the front of this slab the inscription is cut in bold and well defined letters which measure from 1" to 1½". It consists of four lines varying from 10" to 18" in length.

¹ As a generic name gum (in) means a elastoid tree.

Gum Stone Inscription



SCALE 0 50

Prof ra gala Rock Inscr pt no



SCALE 0 25

Perhaps it is meant for *śaṅgipitjanavindasevapiṇḍat*. The impossible form *l to* in the last line is a mixture of *l to* and *l rta*. Evidently the past participle *kṛto* is wanted its subject being the expression [*a*]yam *devadharmam*, immediately following it for which, as in the Śākta image inscription *devadharmas* is to be read. The last member of the next compound *Śaṅgipit madhila* is not clear. The only explanation I can offer is that *madhila* (the last syllable ought to be long) stands for *madhye* or for *madhyaga*. The genitive *Saṅgipitasya* belonging to *harmyam* is very strange. Can it stand for *Saṅgipitasya*? We arrive consequently at the following reading which approximately must represent what the would be poet employed by Śaṅgipit *śaṅgipit* wished to express.

CORRECTED READING

- श्रीम ॥ भापृष्ठादिव्यवश [समृत] परमशिवनत यद्
 (1 2) श्रीमन्मूर्तदेव पादकमलकिमलयस्थितेन
 (1 3) सामन्तापाद देवेन सुरपितृजनहृन्दमेवा प्रसादात्
 (1 4) कृतोऽयं द्यधर्म शिवपुरभक्ष्यग घट्टलीशस्य चर्मस

TRANSLATION

The landlord, chief Śaṅgipit deva resorting to the lotus like feet of the illustrious prince Meru vaman (first son of the house of Mesura and Śūrya, and worshipper of the most exalted Śiva), has made this pious gift—a shrine of Śaṅgipit in the midst of Śivapūṇa—thanks to the service [rendered] to the multitude of the gods and the ancestral spirits

No 10—TURBOK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATE VII)

The village of Turbok belongs to the Basu *pargana* and is situated 1½ miles east of south from Basu Kotla on the road which leads by the Balem Pass to Shalpur and Rihla in Kangra. At a short distance beyond the shrine of Stalin Nag before entering the village the road passes a boulder bearing carvings and inscriptions. The locality where it is found is known by the name of 'Tirstu' and the stone itself is usually designated as *hilla pati* 'the inscribed slab'. No traditions seem to be connected with it.

The centre of the slightly slanting surface is occupied by an elaborate square figure supposed to be a magic spell. Under it we find the effigies of a caparisoned elephant and two horses running as it were in the direction of the Pass. Over the front horse is the word *Śi*, enclosed in a rectangle. Between this and the central figure we read *Śi Harisimela*, the meaning of which I cannot explain. Most probably it is a proper name but the last member of the compound is puzzling. It is noteworthy that the last syllable is written under the line evidently because the central figure came in the way. This must therefore have been carved before the inscription.

Over the second horse are three lines apparently without any connection with each other. The first line measures 3 1 in length and consists of eleven *alpas* as 3 to 8½ high. I read it *On saastri Sri Thallalena lalita n*.

How written by the illustrious Thaklika. The syllable following *Sri* is doubtful but it is very similar to the *alsara ttha* found in the Saurashtra *prasthi* (No 13) l 7¹. I suppose that in reality the name is Thaklika and that the form Thaklika is due to a confusion of Sri Thallika with Sumat Thallika. The second line has only four *alpas* as 2½ to 4½ high and reads *Maya abir* which can be hardly anything else but a proper name. It is possible that the first syllable is in reality *na* as in the inscriptions of Meru Varman this *alsara* can scarcely be distinguished from *ma*. The third line contains three *alpas* of very large size *Sri Lalum*. The first *alsara* is no less than 14½ high. It is impossible to decide whether the word *Lalum* here indicates the goddess of good fortune and forms part of the charm or is to be taken as the personal name of some female. Nor can we make out who the illustrious Thallika was by whom these lines and presumably the accompanying figures also were engraved. It is however noteworthy that an inscription (No 17) incised on the pedestal of an image found in the same village of Tur contains the proper name Sri Thaklika. The character of this epigraph which exhibits a much later type than that of the rock inscription includes the possibility of the two names indicating the same person. But the occurrence of the proper name Thallika elsewhere supports my explanation of the *ttha* in the word *Sri Thallalena*. I may add that the image inscription contains also the invocation *On namo Sri-Thaklikasvami padah*, in which apparently the same orthographical mistake is made.

The later Thaklika was a local Rina possibly the older one was his ancestor as there are instances of a name recurring in the same family. Most probably the two inscriptions are separated by a space of time of nearly three centuries. The rock inscription is written in the same character as Meru Varman's inscriptions and may be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century whereas the younger Thaklika was a vassal of Raja Vajradhara and must therefore have lived about the end of the 10th century.

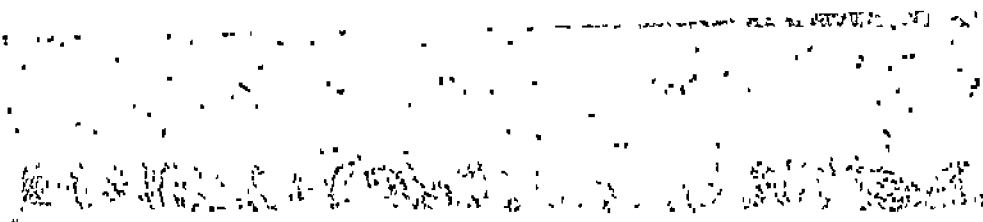
NO 11.—PROL-GALA GALA ROCK INSCRIPTION OF MITYUNJAYA

VARMAN —(PLATE XI)

Proligala is the name of a narrow mountain-passage (*gola* literally 'neck') through which the road from Basu leads over the Kankot range and thence by the Kankot Pass (the Bown Pass of the Survey Map) over the Dhauladhar to Rubin in the Kangra District. The locality evidently owes its name to its resemblance to a gate (*gola*). There are no traces of buildings on the spot, but at a distance of 2 miles the ruins of a fort are said to exist. In these days the Kankot road is but little used owing to its difficult nature. It is, therefore the more

¹ Cf also the signature *rtiyu n par pa titya* (No 15 l 17)

On the meaning of the word and its connection with Sanskrit *pratala* and Hindi *paṭṭā* see my note *J. R. A. S.* for 1906 pp 529 ff



remarkable to find a rock inscription here proving the fact of its having been in existence for a thousand years at least.

The inscription which has to be reached by means of a ladder is cut on a rock at the side of the road. It consists of two lines : 1. and 2. respectively in length. The letters vary from 1. to 2" in size and though irregular in shape are distinct and legible throughout except where the stone is broken. This is unfortunately the case in the latter half of the second line where the letters are crossed by a number of cracks which have disfigured several of them beyond recognition.

Owing to this circumstance I have not been able to make out the exact purport of the document. It seems to record the appointment of a certain Raja putia (whose name is illegible) to some post. This at least seems to follow from the word *puti* of *stak* (read *puti* *st* *h*) at the end of the second line. The main interest, therefore lies in the first line which is legible throughout and contains the name of a Raja which I read *Mrti-majaya-varman-dana*. The use of the royal title, and of the cognomen *varman* renders it highly probable that the person bearing that name was one of the early rulers of Brahmor or Chamba, though his name does not occur in the *Pamsavali*.

The inscription is undated, but its character bears a close resemblance to that used in the records of Adigadhi's reign. This is particularly striking in the shape of the *s* which has a pouch and not an angular loop as is regularly found in later Śānada inscriptions. The *r* also presents a type peculiar to the 10th century. Post consonantic *e* is expressed by a horizontal stroke running from the top of the *ch* *su* *a* towards the proper right.

On the strength of palaeographical evidence we may therefore assign the Prohita-gala inscription to the 10th century of our era. Assuming Mrti-majaya-varman to have been a ruler of the house of Musana the question arises whether he is to be placed before or after Sahila. In other words was his capital Brahmor or Chamba? Geographically both alternatives are possible as the *Basu-panga* presumably belonged to the ancient Brahmor State. Two points may be noticed. First Sahila onwards the *Pamsavali* becomes fairly reliable, whereas for the preceding period it cannot claim the same degree of historical value. It is therefore more likely that a name should have been left out in the earlier portion. Secondly it is not worthy that all documents after Sahila are dated whereas those of the period previous to his reign are not. In this respect the Prohita-gala inscription agrees with the earlier records. Weak though these arguments are they perhaps justify us, in the absence of other evidence, in provisionally placing Mrti-majaya-varman between Meru-varman and Sahila but considerably nearer to the latter from whom he cannot have been separated by more than a century.

TEXT

सखि महाराजाधिराज^१ परमेश्वर श्रीनन्द्युज्जयवर्मदेव ॥

(1) २) यद्यदेवान्नथा परवक्त्रा राजपुत्र त्रु(?) त [खत] लघ पुरोहित

¹ The stroke in low ng is cannot be part of the *ne* *pl* *on*. The *a* stroke of *as* is *unc* *ris*. This word I cannot explain. The third *ad* *para* is perhaps *ca*.

TRANSLATION

But the king of kings, the supreme lord the illustrious and divine
 Mitrajyotiṣṭhīman By order of the king the Rajaputra has been
 appointed

No 12—SVAM IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF RAJANALA BHOGATA

(PLATE XIII)

This inscription is cut on the base of a stone image of Devi Astabhūji which is placed in the village shrine of Svām (map Su) a hamlet of the Himgiri *paiga* a 1 mile east of Himgiri Kotha. The Himgiri *paiga* forms part of the *Chakrasaṁgraha*. The shrine which measures nearly 11.6 by 11.6 externally, contains a cell of *gambhīra* of nearly 4.1 by 1 m in which the image is enshrined.

The stūpā which is 3.3 high and 1.10 wide is carved on one side only. It represents the goddess in the act of slaying the evil demons. She is shown standing in the richer attitude (*Skī abhayaśana*)—the favourite position of deities in their angry mood. She wears a diadem, heavy ear-pendants and various other ornaments. Her forehead is marked with the frontal eye. She is eight armed whence the name *Aṣṭabhūji* by which she is often indicated. With two hands she clasps her formidable weapon the trident (*Skī trisūla*) on the prongs of which struggles a demon who still raises his sword for a desperate blow at the goddess. In her remaining three right hands she holds a long sword, a thunderbolt (*Skī vajra*) and a sword-shaped mace. Two left hands hold a bell (*Skī ghanta*) and a bow. With her eighth hand she seizes the arm of a second demon armed with sword and shield who struggles in vain to escape her grip. The two demons are no doubt the Asura kings Dumbha and Nisumbha whose destruction is extolled as one of the greatest deeds of Devi.²

The feet of the goddess are hidden behind a miniature *bahistiade* formed by a row of eight dwarf pilasters. The two central ones support an arch under which a figure apparently male is seated. It occupies the same position as Aruna the charioteer in images of Surya. The Buddhist goddess *Vajraparāṇī* the She-bearer of the lightning-bolt is also accompanied by a similar figure which is supposed to drive her team of seven hogs. But in the present case the meaning of this attendant figure is by no means clear. It is a frequent practice in Indian art to represent at the feet of a divine image a miniature effigy of the donor or donors of the sculpture. But such figurines are always shown in a much more respectful pose than is the case here. Other wise we might take it to be a portrait of Rāji Bhogata the son of Somata who was the donor of the image.

On the front of the pedestal we see two ferocious lions devouring the body of the Buffalo demon whose discomfiture is regarded as a no less famous exploit of Parvati than her victory over Dumbha and Nisumbha.³ In plastic art she is usually

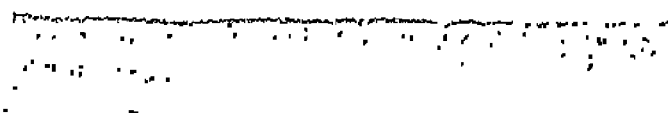
¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India* (1900) p. 67.

² In the *Chakrasaṁgraha* of the *Dharmapala* the first verse of the *Harṣa* *śloka* refers to the destruction of Dumbha and Nisumbha occurs the last verse of the *Chakrasaṁgraha*.

³ Cf. *Harṣa* p. 61, *Chakrasaṁgraha* II and III.



HEIGHT 3' 3"



CALL 3 11

represented in the act of piercing the Mahisasura with her trident. An instance of this is the statue of Lakṣmī Devī at Brāhmī. The presence of two lions on the base of the Svāmī image is surprising. It is true that according to the texts the lion of Pārvatī took an active part in the fighting, but we read only of one lion. I presume that the second lion here is due to the fact that in Indian sculpture a throne (Skr. *sinhasana*) is invariably supported by two such animals.

The inscription consists of two lines which measure 20¹ and 11¹ respectively. The *alif* *seras* are from 1¹ to 3¹ in length. They are clearly cut and legible throughout. The inscription is not dated but, on the strength of palaeographical evidence may be assigned to the 9th or 10th century of our era. The type of the letters with their elongated mostly nail headed and decoratively twisted strokes shows some similarity to that used in the inscriptions of Meruvarman. Especially the *k* and *t* with their twisted tails have an early type. Some of the letters however (eg *u* and *s*) exhibit a later stage of development. It may therefore be better described as a transition from the ornamental script of the 7th and 8th centuries to the early Śāradā as found in the Śāradā *māssā* (No. 13).

The language is Sanskrit but the number of grammatical errors is remarkable considering the brevity of the record. In this respect also the Syrian inscription reminds us of the epigraphs of Meru and Iran. Here also we find the pluralism *karapitah for karitah*. The meaning of the preceding word *bhaktā* is not clear. It can of course be connected with the immediately preceding *Blagabhakti* which evidently stands for *Blagavati*. But after the name of the deity represented by the image one naturally expects a word meaning 'an image'. I do not see how *bhaktā* can be explained in this manner. For the rest the purport of the inscription is clear notwithstanding the corruptness of the language. A difficulty remains with regard to the last word which is the name of the donor of the image. The reading is undoubtedly *Śrī Bhogatesyah*. The *visarga* may be eliminated. In ungrammatical inscriptions like the present we often find it used at random as a kind of ornament at the end of a sentence or word. But how to explain the vowel *e* in the last but one syllable. I presume that the author of the inscription hesitated between the instrumental *Bhagatena* and the genitive *Bhogatesya* and by confusing the two produced the impossible form *Bhogtesya*. Anyhow the word must be an *a* stem. Compare *Somata* the name of the donor's father. Other instances of a man's name ending in *ta* are *Asata* (Nos. 20, 27), *Blōgā* (No. 15), *Jasata* (Nos. 28, 29), *Prāṇata* (No. 17, 13) and *Samābhata* (No. 2, 110).

The Siam inscription records the construction of the image of Bhagavate Deva on which it is found by order of a Rani Bhogate the son of Somade born in the district of Keshindha. It is of interest as the earliest document in which the word *rajapala* is used. The expression 'born in the district of Keshindha' if applied to Somade does not necessarily imply that his son Bhagavate resided

Bhalu though a 1st rate intellect was a native in

3 quote wherever the following names are from the source: Bapat (Rajal VII 134-5) and Nagata (Rajal V 147-190) Bapat (Rajal I 17-21) Gupta (Rajal IV 63-111) Nagata (Rajal VII 134 etc). He bapa (G pta Lacc p 190) Lal (Rajal I 3-6) Mangata (Rajal VII 189-190) S. Nagata (Rajal VII 189-190) VII 100-114) S. Nagata (Rajal VII 189-190) and Nagata (Rajal VII 190 etc).

² Gravitational compression of the *Arctia* envelope of (a) can of course be just as well applied to some of the other cases to be discussed.

in that country. I feel, however, inclined to assume that this was the sense which the author of the inscription wished to convey as Bhogata was probably the hereditary Rana of the tract round Sravan. If so this must have been the district designated by the name of Kiskindha. It is impossible to say how far it extended but as the old boundaries are said to have often corresponded with the modern *paragana*s we may roughly say that in all probability Kiskindha is the ancient name of the *Bimgun* *paragana*. The name does not seem to have survived.

In the *Sarahan prasasti* (No. 13 Pl. 34) mention is made of a lord of Kiskindha whose daughter Somaprabha was married to Satyaki the son of Bhogata evidently a Rana residing in the Sar valley. I have little doubt that this Kiskindha is the same country which is called Kiskindha in the Sravan inscription. Possibly the *e* in the first syllable is due merely to a clerical error. This assumption if correct would render it the more probable that Kiskindha corresponds roughly with the *Bimgun* *paragana*. For it was only natural that the chief of Sravan should intermarry with the family of a neighbouring Rana.

TEXT

आ स्वस्ति ॥ भगवति भक्ता कारापित श्रीकिष्किन्धविषयोत्पन्न सोमटपुत्र राजानक सकलागुण
भगवत् (1) त शरीरा श्रीसोमटेन ॥

CORRECTED READING

आ स्वस्ति ॥ भगवती भक्ता कारिता श्री-किष्किन्धविषयोत्पन्न सोमटपुत्र राजानक सकल
गुणगणालक्ष (1) तशरीर श्री सोमटेन

TRANSLATION

HAU! [This image of] the revered (?) Bhagavati has been made by order of the Rana the illustrious Bhogata whose body is adorned with the full number of all virtues the son of Somata born in the district of Kiskindha.

No. 13—SARAHAN PRASASTI

(PLATE XV)

The village of Sarahan is situated on the left bank of the Sal rivulet opposite Saho (map Srn) the head quarters of a *paragana* of the same name. The distance from Saho to Chamba City is 6½ miles as the crow flies, and about 8 miles by road. In the village temple of Sarahan—an insignificant little building of a type common in the Punjab Hills—in inscribed stone was pointed out to me a remarkable both for its workmanship and excellent preservation. Since May 1908 the stone is preserved in the Chamba State Museum and is entered in the Museum catalogue as No. A, 1. The inscription is carved on the front and the back of the slab, the inscribed sides being 22 in width and 6½ in height. It consists of twenty-two lines of which eleven each measuring 21 in length are found on the obverse and the

There can hardly be any connection between the Kiskindha and the mythical realm of the monkey legends of the Ramayana and Valmiki. It has given its name to the four districts of the Ranyana.

Bimgun is the feminine form of Bhaga. It is used to designate deities and deified saints especially Buddha and Krishna. The most correct rendering would be Lord Bhagavati therefore is almost equivalent to our Lady.

The obverse is in a perfect state of preservation. Some small pieces have flaked off along the edges but this has hardly affected the lettering. Of the reverse the two upper corners are broken by which the first and last two *akṣaras* of the 12th line have become lost. The initial syllable can be nothing but *ra*. The two at the end of the line I have restored in accordance with a conjecture made by Pundit Nityanand Sastri of Śrinagar (Kāśmīr). Here also I believe the restoration may be regarded as certain. For the rest the execution is such that there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the meaning of any of the characters.

The inscription, except the initial *mangala*, is composed in Sanskrit poetry and consists of twenty-two verses. The first and last which are benedictory, are in the *Anu* metre the second and third in the *Vasantatilaka*. The remaining stanzas are *Upajata*, except verses 18 and 19 which have a long syllable at the beginning of each *pada* and therefore belong to the *Indravajra* variety. It will be seen that this diversity of metre has a close connection with the nature of the contents of the poem. The verses are not numbered in the original, but simply marked by a double stroke at the end. The single stroke after the second *pada* is often omitted.

The inscription records the foundation of a temple dedicated to the 'moon-crowned' Śiva (verse 21) by an individual called Satyaki (v. 3) the son of Bhogata (v. 2) and married to a lady named Somaprabhā ('Moonlight') of the house of the lord of Kiskindhikā (v. 4). The greater part of the poem (vs 5-20) is devoted to the praise of this lady, whose charms are extolled in the flowery style of Indian erotics. No more information is given regarding the donor, but we may infer in certain expressions (*ujjānī cakrāḥ* v. 3, *jayatā prithvī sahasam* v. 22), and especially,

from the term *narendia* (v 21) applied to him and from that of *Devi* (v 4), applied to his consort that he belonged to the warrior caste. The names Bhogita and Satyaki do not occur in the genealogical list of the Chamba Rajas nor is there in the epigraph itself any evidence that they belonged to the illustrious house of Musana. More probably they were local chiefs belonging to the class of Ranas to whom so many of our Chamba documents owe their existence. We have seen above that Kishindhr is the ancient name of the country round Hingm. It was the seat of a Rana's family and it was evidently a daughter of that baronial house whose hero is sung in the Swahan eulogy.

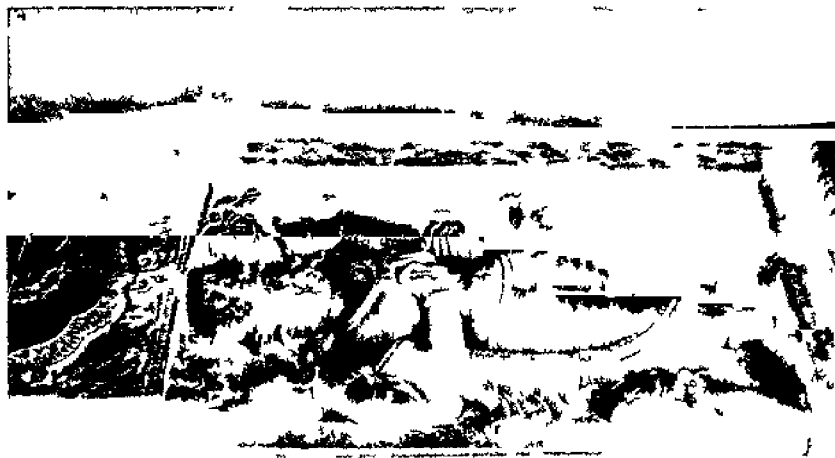
The temple founded by Satyaki is indicated as *deva Tulan kalanka mult endu* *lell ankita cchharasya* (v 11) and again in the final benedictory stanza Siva is spoken of as *hmasa asmitachhara* (v 22). From this it may be conjectured that the shrine the foundation of which the inscription records is not the poor and unimportant village temple of Swahan, but the *Swalaya* of Saho known by the name of Candrasekh (*Si Candrasekhara*). At first sight this building with its high slate roof supported by white washed pillars, presents quite a modern appearance. But on close examination it will be seen that the cella in which the *linga* is placed is undoubtedly ancient.



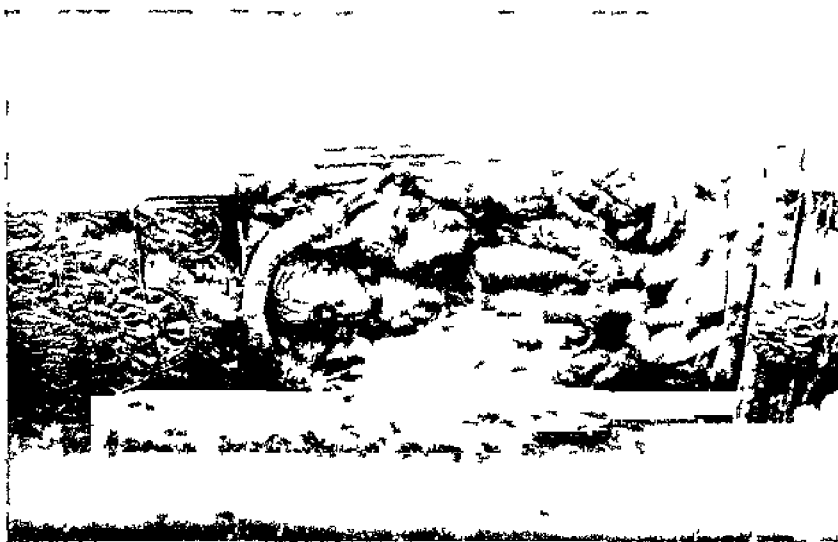
Fig. 24 Temple of Candrasekh at Saho

This cella, which measures 17.10 outside and 12.7" inside in both directions, is oriented east. It contains a large stone *linga* placed on a stand 6.4 square at the top, which is encased in copper sheeting. The walls of the temple are plain

5 3 Figures on Cardrusckh Temple.



HC GHT 2 3



HC GHT 2 1

The north wall is pierced by an outlet for the sacrificial water which is provided with a gargyle in the shape of a *makara* head. On the south, west and north sides there is an ornamental niche in the centre of the wall. That on the south is surmounted by the figure of a monkey and contains a stone slab which represents Narasimha disembowelling Hiranyakasipu. On the east side are two niches, one on each side of the doorway.

The doorway is the most ornamental part of the temple. The door-lintel is supported by two pillars with round shafts and capitals of the pot-and-foilage type. The bracket capitals are provided with supporting figures. Both sides of the entrance are elaborately carved. The lower half of each door-jamb is decorated with a standing figure of Śiva measuring 2.3 m height (plate XLV). That to the right shows him in his angry form (*Śiva krodha*) and that to the left in his benevolent mood (*Śiva śanta prasanna*). The right hand figure has three faces and six arms. With two hands he holds the ends of an elephant-headed snake swung over his head. The other two right hands hold a trident and an object which is perhaps the hilt of a sword or mace. The left hands hold the heads of two demons. The god wears a long necklace of human heads and as sacred thread, a snake. He stands on a corpse and is attended by two miniature chowrie-bearers. The left hand figure represents Śiva four armed. In his right hands he holds a flower and a rosary and in his left hands a trident and a water-pot. He is also accompanied by two chowrie-bearers. The roof and the verandah with its twelve neatly squared pillars are said to have been built about A.D. 1900 after the temple had been damaged by a flood. In front of the temple is a sunk courtyard which contains a large stone slab pierced with an octagonal hole. Apparently it once belonged to the stand of a *linga*. On the other side of this courtyard opposite the temple stands a huge stone figure of Śiva's bull Nandi 6.4 high which is entirely blackened with oil. It has very elaborate trappings in which demon heads are introduced and a decorative coverlet carved with a row of geese on each side and an eight-petalled lotus on the top in the manner of a saddle. The bell, suspended from the neck of the animal, is broken on the proper left side. For the rest, the statue is well preserved. A male figurine said to represent a cowherd, hangs at its tail. Such figures I have often noticed on Nandi images in the Punjab Hills.

Tradition ascribes the foundation of the Candīśekhara temple to Śahila varman. Though in view of our inscription this tradition must be rejected it may be taken to afford an approximate date both for the temple and for the record of its construction. The circumstance that the inscription is undated points to its being one of the earlier epigraphs found in Chamra. Some peculiarities of the script confirm this conclusion. The *na* has a shape different from that found in other Śaraṇi inscriptions but very similar to that of the time of Meru-varman. It is also noteworthy that in *pa ma* and *ya* the vowel sign is attached to the consonant by means of a long horizontal stroke which does not touch the upright in exactly the same manner as in the copper plate grant of Vidagdha Sahula's grandson. The inscription may therefore be assigned to the 10th century and to the time of Sahula or one of his immediate successors.

TEXT

श्रीं स्वस्ति ॥

जयति शिव एष इशस्योसप्रमथा विभुषित शरीर ।

मततासुरक्त गौरी दहार्ध निवड सद्भाव ॥ १ ॥¹

आमोखग्रस्त गुण गौरव हत धु (1 2) क्त पर्यङ्गमहिमस्त्रिमाकर राजि युव ।

श्री भोगटा भुवन भूषण भूत मूर्तिस्सुव्यक्त मौक्तिका मणि प्रतिमः पृथिव्याम् ॥ २ ॥

तस्मादजा (1 3) यत जयन्त इवामरन्दाचन्द्राध शेषर-धरादिव कार्तिकेय ।

श्री मान्दकिः प्रणयि दैन्य निराकरिणुर्विभुर्यया प्रथु गुणो विजितारि चक्र ॥ ३ ॥

किष्कि (1 4) न्तिकाधीश कुले प्रसूता सोमप्रभा नाम बभूव तस्य ।

दैवी जगद्धरण भुत मूर्तिस्त्रिलोचनस्येव गिरीश पद्मी ॥ ४ ॥

अपर्यभिन्दन्प्रविधाय वधास्तदा (1 5) स्फुरत्कान्ति कलङ्क मुक्तम् ।

सम्पूर्णं विश्वं वदन् यदीयसमस्तगङ्गाण्डकिताङ्ग यष्टि ॥ ५ ॥

नानाविधानङ्गति मन्त्रिदश विशेष रम्या गुणशालिनी या ।

(1 6) मनीहस्त सुतरामवाप मचतसा सत्कवि भारतीव ॥ ६ ॥

शङ्करा मित्योऽ किमियदु वेला कि वा मनीभू तसं मञ्जरी स्यात् ।

वमन राजस्य तु रा (1 7) ज्य लक्ष्मीस्त्रिलोक्य सौन्दर्य समाह्वतिर्नु ॥ ७ ॥

जगत्तयो वश्य विधान दत्ता विद्या मनो मोहनिर्कामिघा तु ।

द्वयण्जुनो जात वितर्क राशिर्यस्या न निश्चेतुमभू (1 8) त्समर्थ ॥ ८ ॥

जगत्प्रमोदीलसया समेती दृशा जगन् विमलय गर्भया च ।

जगन् वितकाकुल रूपया च पश्यण्जुनो यास्वहृभावको भूत् ॥ ९ ॥

या च द्विषेद् द्युति (1 9) केश पाशस्त्रिभक्ति धावा कुसुमायुधाय ।

जगत्तयो मानस सयसार्थङ्गतस्मियङ्गुतुमभीप्सुनेव ॥ १० ॥

ममानत भू धनुषा कटाक्ष विजेष वागेर्ज (1 10) नता मनासि ।

आक्रान्तवत्या सुतरा विजित्य निरायथो कारि यया मनोभू ॥ ११ ॥

यस्याऽ कपालो परिपाण्डुराङ्गौ सौन्दर्य कान्ति द्वय निर्भरौ च ।

नवात्पला (1 11) नन्द विधान दत्तौ शशाङ्क बुद्धिदुरुती जनस्य ॥ १२ ॥

रागान्वितेनाप्यधरस्य यस्याऽ काठिन्य भाजा सुकुमार मूर्ते ।

न पश्यगतेण रत्नोज्ज्वलेन सुधा (1 12) [र] स म्यन्दिन आपि सास्यम ॥ १३ ॥

यस्याथ वज्रोज्ज्वल दन्त राजेमृणाल कोमल्य भुजा लताया ।

तुल्य स नावग्य जल विमानि कुच द्वयन्दु [र्ग] मि (1 13) वात्सज्यम् ॥ १४ ॥

दान प्रवालाङ्गण भाव मज्जी करारुज्ज यद्वदनेन्दु भासा ।

यामे पि यस्याऽ प्रविकम्बरवन्धनौ जने विस्मय कार्यभूतत ॥ १५ ॥

1. are are not a beed a tie or 2)
Of Sur gadhara (Haf 4200)

नन्दरामिदम् मीनमात्रं चित्तनन्दन

अ दित्तिमाभाति च मा वगा गुणोच्चरत् ॥

2. Theo god Haskuth 4. be as

The lower portion of the gun for its in a traceable Of Ha a ajala II 6

चरापि मन्मथमन्त्रविषय सौमन्तिनोर्द इति

[The manuscript page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is largely illegible due to extreme fading and significant damage to the paper.]

12
14
16
18
20

6 She exceeding lovely and rich in virtues attained by the cunning disposition of various ornaments still greater charm in the eyes of the men of taste, like the Muse of a good poet

7 "Can she be the high tide of the ocean of passion, or a cluster of blossoms on the tree of love, or the presiding goddess of the realm of King Spring, or the sum of the beauty of the three worlds?"

8 On a spell named 'Mind-perplexing,' capable of rendering the three worlds obedient?" Thus lost in a multitude of doubts, one cannot decide about her

9 Beholding her with an eye, now sparkling with joy, then pregnant with amazement and then again confused with doubt, one was bewildered and full of imaginations

10 She bears a look (*lit* shing) of hair glittering like ice, made by the Creator—desirous, as it were to show favour to the flower-armed One (Cupid) that he may fetter [with it] the hearts of the three worlds

11 By her who, with the bent bow of her brows and with the arrows of her side long glances has attacked and completely conquered the hearts of mankind Cupid has been rendered shelterless

12 Her cheeks, of a very pale hue and full of the essence of beauty and loveliness capable of causing delight to the night-lotuses which are the eyes [of her admirers] make on the people the impression of the Hair-marked One (the Moon)

13 Her lip is not equalled by the ruby, though endowed with [a like] redness, for the one partakes of hardness and has no moisture, the other is soft shaped and nectar distilling

14 Her rows of teeth beam like diamonds, her slender arms are soft like lotus stalks, her pair of breasts, high and watered with charm, appear [like a castle] of Cupid¹

15 That her lotus like hands possessing the ruddy appearance of young buds, remain expanded in the brightness of her moon like face, even when in contact [with each other] caused amazement among the people²

16. With the flashing net of her ray like nails, gifted with whiteness, of spotless nature exceeding captivating, she seems to scatter bundles of pearls in all directions

17 The Creator who was afraid that, by carrying the burden of her breasts, her slender waist might break, has bound it with a girdle of multitudinous folds³

18 The dolphin-bannered One (Cupid) perceiving that she contains exquisite treasures of grace and dalliance and such like pearls, has, in order to guard these, shaped her navel like a seal

¹ According to the laws of Indian rhetoric, good poetry has three virtues (*guṇa*) namely *vividh* or (*vijay*) variety (*prasaśa*) and sweetness (*anurāga*). The ornaments (*alankāra*) of speech are an essential part of it.

Kunda dwells in the human hearts, whence he speaks that *anurāga*.

² I have translated according to the proposed explanation.

³ The words between brackets are in Sanskrit, in the original.

⁴ The red lotus is expanded only in the day time and not when the moon shines.

⁵ The three folds (*stretā*) about the waist are considered a mark of female beauty. Cf. *Kamarasudhanu*.

I 3. It is duly indicated on the Devi image of Meru varman. Cf. above, p. 138.

19 The eye roaming over her broad, round buttocks is wholly bewildered. She has thighs yellowish like the centre of a lotus, well matched like two honest men.

20 If a tendril like beam of the Nectar-shedder (the Moon) fall on a widely expanded red lotus, then were there an image of the net of her rays like nails on her pair of rose lotus like feet.¹

21 May there be an unshaken friendship between her (Soma parbha) and the Mountain daughter (Dugri). With this wish that prince (Satvaki) had this temple built to Him whose diadem is marked with the stainless sickle of the Moon (Siva).

22 Victorious be [Śiva] He, whose diadem is the cool rayed One (the Moon) and may this temple be of high renown as long as the wealth bestowing One (the Earth) [endures] and may the illustrious Satvaki conquer the entire Earth.²

NO 14 --BRAHMOR COPIER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YUGAKARA VARMAN --(PLATE XVI AND FIG 15)

The copper plate which contains this inscription is 13¹¹/₁₆" wide by 8¹¹/₁₆" high. The average size of the letters is ¹¹/₁₆". The epigraph consists of nineteen lines besides the subscription which is written vertically on the proper right margin. The plate is far from entire. The four corners are broken away which has led to the loss of the symbol *ou* and the first two *akṣaras* of the signature in the upper proper right corner and of the last five *akṣaras* of the first line and of the upper portions of the last four *akṣaras* of the second line in the upper proper left corner. In the lower corners the first four *akṣaras* of each of the last two lines are missing to the proper right whilst the ends of the last six lines are missing to the proper left in such a manner that of line 11 only the last *akṣara* is damaged and of line 19 nine *akṣaras* are lost. In the upper part of the plate a broken piece of 2¹¹/₁₆" by 1¹¹/₁₆" has been fastened on with clamps by which several *akṣaras* of the first four lines have been injured or destroyed. Most of the missing portions can be restored.

The inscription opens with a *Māhātmya* stanza in praise of ŚIVA the soul of the universe (II 1 2). In the following passage (II 3 6) we find the names of the donor Yagukara varman and of his parents Sahula and Nenna. Both Sahula and Yagukara hold a prominent place in the *Tamśarāṭi* especially the former as founder of the town of Chamra and of the temple of Lakṣmī Narayana. The passage in which the grant is defined (II 6 10) is far from clear owing partly to the number of proper names and what apparently are Sanskritized vernacular words and partly to the loose syntactical construction and absence of signs of punctuation.

¹ As the flower of the red lotus is closed at night the condition proposed by the poet is never fulfilled. In all words the combination of her feet which are red like a lotus and of her nails glittering like the moon is without parallel. The name of the *akṣara* used here is *atītagaṭi*. Cf. *Saṁskṛta dāyaṇa* V 694.

With this verse may be compared *Bhagavān* 7 4.

भुक्तिराफी नवी दातुं एव मनीं बुद्धिर्बभूव ।

यदकार इतोय म भिक्षा क्रमतिरुपस्था ।

² Yagukara is called Yagukara in the charter of his son Vardagula (No 10 1 1) and Yagukara in the *Pratāp* (No 68 78 80 and 82). Cf. p. 100 n. 2.

It is of great interest that we meet here with the ancient name of Brahmoi. It is Brahmapura and not Varmapura as assumed by Cunningham presumably on the authority of the *Panwaras*. Mention is also made of the hospice (*matha*) of Khan. This village which still retains its name (map Khan) is situated east of the confluence of the Ravi and the Budhal on the ridge which forms the watershed between these two rivers. It is curious that up to the present day we find several rest houses for travellers shaded by mulberry trees at the spot where the road from Ulnsa to the village of Brahmoi crosses the ridge near Khan. They consist of open wooden pavilions called *bilang*. The other two villages mentioned are Vidavika perhaps the modern Baira (map Baira) and Grima which is still known by the same name. Baira is situated about half way between Brahmoi and Khan on the road which connects these two places. Grima lies above Baira on the ridge which separates the Ravi and Budhal valleys. It is passed by the road which leads from Brahmoi to Trehta a town on the left bank of the Upper Ravi. In none of these villages any traditions seem to exist regarding rent free land having been situated there. It is therefore impossible to identify the fields described in the title deed and to interpret the passage satisfactorily. There is however above Grima a field known by name which I believe may be identified with the *Kutika* of the inscription.³ We naturally names it should be noticed irregularly Sanskritized by adding the termination *ika* (cf. beneath *Polhika*). The *Kutika* field belongs at present to the Gaddis Juhari and Bhambari. It is said to yield two *pisas* in two years namely a crop of wheat (*Lanak*) and a crop of buckwheat (*bharis*). This would well agree with the statement in the inscription that the *Kutika* field yielded 1 *pitaka* that is annually. This Sanskrit *pitaka* is the modern *pi* which is the twentieth part of a *dhara* and consists of 20 *munas* a *mun* being equivalent to 2 *gallia* *sur*. A *para* consequently amounts to 40 *sur*.⁴ The term *vappya* may either be connected with the Sanskrit root *vap* to sow and rendered as sown land or it may be derived from *vapi* (tank) and explained as land watered from tanks. The latter interpretation seems to me preferable as we have a parallel in the word *kolhika*. This word is evidently Sanskritized *kolkhi* which in Chamba indicates an irrigated field used for rice cultivation. It frequently occurs in the vernacular portions of the Chamba title deeds of the Muhammadan period. The word is derived from *kulhi* (a) a channel'. *Shi Kulya Kasm kul*.

Vappya would therefore correspond with Persian *chah* from *chah* (well) and *kolhika* with Persian *nahr* from *nahr* (canal). The second member of the proper name *Sabdu bagga* is evidently a vernacular term *bag* meaning a field. It also occurs in *Khan bagga* and *Pitha bagga* names of fields mentioned in Vidagdha's copper plate grant (No 151-153). Now-a-days it is still used in the names of fields

³ A. S. R. Vol. XIV p. 110 and *Ant. Geography* p. 141.

⁴ *Shi Kula* means a mine.

In the *Kulhi* I detect the generic word *kul* (wells) which is followed by *hi* (water) and *ika* (field) in the course of two years only two crops but the first followed by wheat. Cf. *Dairi Firki* *Dairi of H. J. Lahore* 1890 p. 10.

⁵ A *para* said to be equivalent to a *dir* (*Shi dirana*) and a *nam* to a *pati* (*Shi prastha*). The *pati* is the unit of measurement in the *dhara*. Cf. *A. S. R.* A. S. 1891 04 p. 263 f. also *Rajast.* IV 209.

⁶ Cf. *Dairi Firki* p. 110.

such as, 'Hola bag' in Grima 'Sat bag' in Malkota and 'Bag' alone as the name of a field at Khani. In Brahman *bag* is used to denote a field in general.¹

The donee of Yugakars grant was the god Narasimha the man lion incarnation of Visnu whose image had been erected by Queen Tribhuvana delha, perhaps the consort of the donor. There can be little doubt that this is the same image which is still worshipped in one of the ancient temples of Brahman (Plate VIII b). "The figure," Cunningham says, 'is seated on a Singhasan or lion throne and is remarkable for its ferocious aspect and horrible nude parts. There are traces of an inscription on the pedestal, but the letters are so much decayed that I was obliged to give up the attempt to copy it.' In the *Tamravali* (stoka 45) the Narasimha temple along with the others is ascribed to Meruvarman but this can hardly be correct. The temple is no longer in possession of the lands described in the title deed and the copper plate has now been deposited in the Chambra State Museum.

The concluding portion of the inscription contains no less than six stanzas—all in the *Anustubh* (Hala) metre—regarding the *danadharma*. Then follow the date the 10th year—presumably of Yugakars reign—the name of the messenger (*datta*) and that of the writer, the latter partly missing and finally the subscription of the donor.

The language of Yugakars grant is far from correct. Altogether we count in it more than fifty mistakes. A few of these errors are evidently due to want of care on the part of the engraver who left out syllables or altered them. Thus we find *tava* (l. 2) for *Bhava prayacha* for *prayacchatu* (l. 14), *tad* for *etad* (l. 16), *palapalanana* (l. 15) for *palanat*=*paraman*, *anataloru rane* (supra) (l. 18) for *anudalesu vanesu suska*, *tra* *ksapatika* (l. 19) for *trial sapatala*. The frequent omission of the *visarga* and *anusvara* may also be partly attributed to the engraver. Instances are *padapa* (l. 5), *va* (l. 11), *janapadana* (l. 11), *sarai* (l. 13), *vase* (l. 14), *dharma* (l. 15), *sabija* (l. 17), *tadagana* (l. 17) and *malin* (l. 17). On the other hand, *svayakṣara* (l. 17) ought to be *svayakṣita*. But the great majority of mistakes, no doubt, result from the ignorance of the author of the document. Trespasses against the *sandhi* rules are very frequent e.g. *devyodara* (l. 1) for *devyudara* or *devyā udara*, *nyogastham* (l. 10) for *nyogasthan*, *sarisa* (l. 11) for *sarasan*, *agaharaveti* (l. 12) for *agaharatva iti*, *paramo svarga* (l. 15) for *paramah svargo*. The final consonants of terminations are often missing e.g. *madhya* (l. 7), *pramanya* (l. 13), *asm* (l. 14), *vasi* (l. 14), *bhave* (l. 14), *vyatirama* (l. 15), *palana* (l. 15), *or* (l. 16). Wrong terminations are used in *bhige* (l. 14), *samutpanne* (l. 14), *polana* (l. 16), *loke* (l. 17). The form *vasapayati* is a prakritism like the past participle *larapata* of Meruvarman's inscriptions. Substitution of *na* for *na* in *Trinayana* (l. 12), *Tribhuzana* (l. 12) and *malin* is due to the influence of the vernacular, likewise the substitution of *sa* for *sa* in *sa ana* (ll. 13 and 15). The double consonant is replaced by the single one in *bhatasala* (ll. 3 and 5), *bhatasika* (l. 4) and *[da]tva* (l. 17).

¹ The word *bag* possibly derived from *Sarvarga* meaning group section division.
 Cf Cunningham I S R Vol. XIV p. 119.

TEXT

स्वस्तिः ॥ श्री गणपतये नमः ॥ अ ७ ७ सलिल-वह्नि-श्रीम-वायुन्तराल ७ ७ ७ ७
 ७ (1. 2) पुराण स्वाङ्ग-सम्भूत-योने । हर तव शिव शर्व चखकेशान रुद्र चिन्मयं वृषभाङ्गा-
 (1. 3) नन्मसूर्ते नमस्ते ॥ श्री-नगणपका-वाभात्यरमन्नक्षत्र-देव-ह्रिज गुरु-भक्त-परमभटारक-म-
 (1. 4) हाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमत्साहिल-देव पादानुध्यात-परमभटारिका-महाराज्ञी-श्री-नेत्रा-
 देव्योदर-ममुत्प (1. 5) श्री एकारातिचक्र-निर्मलन-महादान-सलिल-सेतु-समभिर्धित-यशः-
 पादप ॥ परमभटारक-महाराजा- (1. 6) धिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्यगाकरवर्म-देव ५ कुशली
 स्वशाम्यमान-ब्रह्मपुर-मण्डल-प्रतिवह-विडविका- (1. 7) ग्राम-प्रतिवह-पूर्वं खणी-मठस्य कील्हिक-
 मत्क-भू २ एषा मध्या हरिहल-गोकिल स्वतस्य प्रविष्ट शब्द-वग (1. 8) नाम क्षेत्र तस्य परिवर्ते
 दत्तं प्रिम-ग्रामे चन्दि आकुटनागविक-मत्क-रुह-पुत गण-भुच्यमाना कुटिका-वाप्ये- (1. 9) य-
 धाना-पिटकमेक दत्तम् (1. 10) तथा खणी-मठस्य-मदिकृष्ट-यसलिका-शाकवाटिका तत्र वाप्ये पिटक-द्वय
 (1. 10) मङ्गत ॥ उभौ कुटिका-सञ्चित पि ३ तथा धारवाटिकार्धच । सर्वानेव नियोगस्या राज-
 राजानक-राजस्थानी- (1. 11) य सर्वे सवासो बोधयत्यस्तु व संविदितम् प्रतिवामि-जनपदाना
 भागिकादीनां साष्टादश-प्रकन्यादीनां मन्त्रा- (1. 12) राज्ञी-श्री-त्रिभुवणरेखा-देव्या प्रतिष्ठित-नर-
 सिंहस्य¹ यामलकंतस्या प्रतिगङ्गेणायहारद्वेति प्रतिपादितम् (1. 13) विदित्वा कीर्तितासुकीर्तितै
 सर्वे राजपुत्रैर उमन्तव्यम् यतो म्प्रदत्त-शाशन-ग्रामान्या वसतु वनाप- (1. 14) यतु भागेन प्रयच्छ
 नक्षेन ध्वन्यरिपत्यना कार्या । अस्मि वशे समस्तान् य ५ कश्चि नृपतिर्भवे तस्याह हस्त- (1. 15)
 लने स्मि शाशन मा व्यनक्तिम् । पालनापरमो धर्म पाल पालनाना तपः पालना परमो स्वर्ग गरी
 — — (1. 16) न पालना । बल्लिचि कुरुने पापं जन्म-प्रसृति मानवः तद्गोचर्म-साचेण भूमिहर्ता
 न शुज्यते । फाहृष्ट — — — (1. 17) त्वा सवीजा ममा-मालिणी । यावत्सूय-कृता लोके
 तावत्सर्वं महीयते । तत्त्वगाना सत्त्वमेण — — — — — (1. 18) — — — —
 कोटि-प्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुज्यते । अनौदकेश रने शुज्य-कीटन-धामिग कृष्ण-स — — — —
 — — — (1. 19) — — — — लि ये ॥ सवत् १० वैशाख वति १० दूतो ३ जपटिक-
 श्री-विषखलखित कायस्थ-जा — — — —
 (1. 20) — — दयाकरवर्म-देव-स्वहस्तः ॥

CORRECTED READING

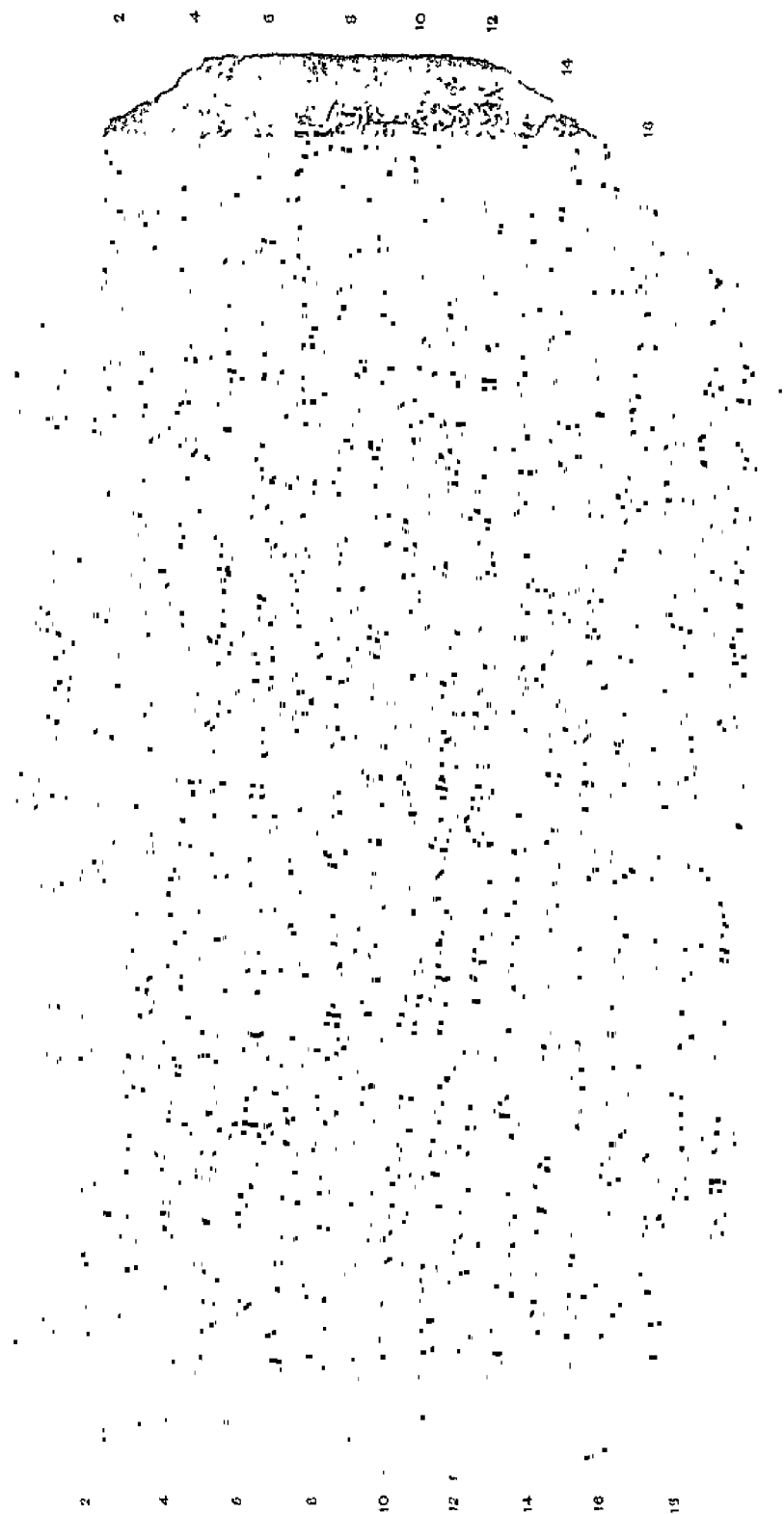
श्री स्वस्तिः ॥ श्री गणपतये नमः ॥ अवनि-सलिल-वह्नि-श्रीम-वायुन्तराल ७ ७ ७ ७
 ७ (1. 2) पुराण स्वाङ्ग-संभूत-योने । हर भव शिव शर्व चखकेशान रुद्र चिन्मयं वृषभाङ्गा
 (1. 3) नन्मसूर्ते नमस्ते ॥ श्री-नगणपका-वाभात्यरमन्नक्षत्र-देव-ह्रिज गुरु-भक्त परमभटारक-म (1. 4)
 हाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमत्साहिल-देव-पादानुध्यात-परमभटारिका-महाराज्ञी-श्री-नेत्रा-देव्योदर-
 ममुत्प- (1. 5) श्री एकाराति-चक्र-निर्मलन-महामान-सलिल-सेतु-समभिर्वाधित-यशः-पादपः परम-
 भटारक-महाराजा- (1. 6) धिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीमद्यगाकरवर्म-देव ५ कुशली स्वशाम्यमान-ब्रह्मपुर-
 मण्डल-प्रतिवह-विडविका- (1. 7) ग्राम-प्रतिवह-पूर्वं खणी-मठस्य कील्हिक-सत्क-भू २ एषा

¹ The *alakar* of this word is partly damaged, but the reading is certain

² This word, except the last *alakar*, has evidently been added at a time subsequent to the engraving of the grant

³ The *alakar* which I read here is not clear and has almost the shape of *३*. But on account of the preceding ending, I take it to be *३*, in which the vowel-stroke has become amalgamated with the letter proper

Brahmor Copper-plate Grant



SCALE 0 25

मथाहिरिहल राकिल सुतस्य प्रविष्ट शब्दवग्ग (1 8) नाम ज्ञेय तस्य परिवर्तित दत्तग्रिम ग्रामे चापि (1) आकृष्टनागविक मत्त रत्नद्व सुत गण भुज्यमान कुटिका वाप्ये (1 9) य धाना पिटक-मक दत्तम तत्रा म्बुषी मठस्य मनिहृष्ट-यमनिका शकवाटिका तत्र वाप्ये पिटक द्वय- (1 10) मङ्कत २। उभो कुटिका मन्त्रित पि ३ तत्रा शाक (2) वाटिकाध च । सर्वानेव नियोगस्थान राज राजानक राजस्थानी (1 11) यान्सर्व मवामान बोधयत्यस्तु च सविदित प्रतिवासि जनपदाना भोगिकादीना माष्टदश प्रकृत्वादीना महा (1 12) राज्ञी श्री-त्रिभुवनरेखा दद्या प्रतिष्ठापित नरसिंहस्य श्रीमनकतस्य प्रतिग्रहेणाग्रहारत्व इति प्रतिपादितम् (1 13) विदित्वा कीर्तिता कीर्तितैः सर्वै राजपुरुषैरनुमन्तव्य यतोऽस्य दत्त शासन-प्राभाषाद्वसतु वाम (1 14) यतु भार्ग न प्रयच्छतु न केन चित्परिपत्यना कार्या ॥ अस्मिन्ने समुत्पन्नो यः कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याञ्ज जस्त (1 15) लग्नोऽस्मि शासन मा व्यातिक्रमेत् ॥ पालनात्परमो धर्म पालनात्परम तप । पालनात्परम स्वगा गरीयस्ते (1 16) न पालनम् ॥ यस्मि चित्कुरुते पाप जन्म प्रभृति सानव । एतद्वोचर्म माचेण भूमि दानेन शुध्यते ॥ पाल कृष्टा मन्त्री द (1 17) त्वा सवीजा सस्य मालिनीम् यावत्सूर्य कृता लोकास्तावत्स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ तडागानां महर्षेण चायमेध शत (1 18) न च । गवा कीटि प्रदानेन भूमि हर्ता न शुध्यते ॥ अनुदकेषु वनेषु शुष्क कीटि वासिन । कृष्ण सर्पा हि जायन्ते सूमि (1 19) दाय हरन्ति ये ॥ सवत १० वैशाख व र्ति १० ॥ दूतोऽवाहपटलिक श्री विक्ख(ल ?) ॥ लिखित कायस्य ज्ञास[टन ॥^२]
(1 20) श्रीमद्यगाकरवर्म देव स्वहस्त ॥

TRANSLATION

Hail! Reverence to Gnapati O Thou that art the soul of the earth, the water the fire the ether and the air—ancient and self created! Hail Bhava Śiva Śarva Tumbala (three eyed) Iśana (Lord) Rudra Tumbava (three eyed), Visabhanā (bull marked) O Thou whose shape is endless reverence to Thee

(I 3) From [his] residence at the glorious Canpal—he who reverently remembers (*lit* is meditating at the feet of) the very devout worshipper of the deities the twice born (the Brahmins) and the spiritual preceptors, [him] the supreme prince, the ling of lings the supreme lord, the illustrious and divine Śakala and who was born from the womb of the supreme princess and queen the illustrious and divine Neema—he the tree of whose glory is increased by dunning back the great wave of pride³ [arising from] the uprooting of the host of manifold foes,—he the supreme prince the ling of kings, the supreme lord the illustrious and divine Śaṅkara Varman the prosperous one⁴—giants

¹ Cf. Benoit No 16 H 9 10

² O the meaning of *dhya* as a full term of Hail (*J R I S I* - 1908 pp 449 f.) also quotes *Manu* 5 130

³ The stanza is re-typed from No 26 H 26 ^{or}

⁴ The stanza is modified from standard *C. J. A. J. S. I. S. I.* 108 13 and 150 and *J. R. I. S. I.* vol. XIV (188) p 319

⁵ The name *Varman* may be surmised here. It occurs as the name of a *Chamb* Raja in *Cr. J. S. I.* 108 13 and 150

⁶ Cf. like *G. J. A. J. S. I.* 108 13 and 150. The word *dhya* means to remember or to think of. Cf. *Bharat* 10 2, 63 10 मा (मलिको) चाप्ययति सप्तसुकन्दचरपायम् ।

⁷ Cf. *Flac. J. S. I.* p 10 ^{or}

⁸ I translate according to the proposed emendation *maṣa lo dāsa* as I feel to word to not a reasonable noble son

⁹ The expression *dhya* is clarified as *dhya* (translated by *g. J. A. J. S. I.* 108 13 and 150)

(L 7) 2 *blu* of *kohle* land of the Khami hospice in the *purva* (?) belonging to the village of Vidavika belonging to the Balamapuri district of his domain. Out of these a field Sabdabugga by name which was enjoyed (lit entered) by the son of Huihalla Rankula is given in exchange. Also in the village of Grima one *pitaka* of rice is given from the *vappa* land of Kutika which was [previously] enjoyed by the sons of Rahanka collectively and belongs to the Akutaugavika. Further in the vicinity of the Khami hospice is the Yumhila kitchen garden out of the *vappa* land there two in figures 2 *pitakas* [are given]. [These] together with that of Kutika [make] three *mu*. And further half the kitchen garden.

(L 10) He [the king] informs all officials every *vajra* is a chief justice and all house owners. Be it known unto you neighbouring country people land holders and others who are the eighteen elements of the State. On [the temple of] Namasimbi founded by the Queen the illustrious and divine Tribhuvanarekha is by a formal libation of water (?) this grant bestowed. Having understood [this], let all servants of the king named and unnamed, observe it so that on the authority of the charter issued by us he [the grantee] should live and cause [his tenants] to live, without paying a tithe [to the Raja]. Let no one offer obstruction.

(L 14) Whosoever born of this race may be king I enjoin on him not to transgress [this] order. By [its] observance the highest religious merit by [its] observance the highest ascetic merit by [its] observance the highest heaven [will be attained]. [its] observance therefore is very important. Whatsoever sin from his birth onwards a man commits it will be cleansed by a gift of land be it only the size of a cow hide. He who gives land tilled with the plough provided with seed corn and fertile (lit. wreathed with grain) he will be blessed in Heaven as long as light is produced by the sun. He who takes away [the land] is not cleansed by [the digging of] a thousand tanks by a hundred horse oblations and by a gift of ten million cows. Those who confiscate a grant of land are born as black serpents dwelling in the hollows of withered up trees in waterless forests.

(L 19) In the year 10 [the month of] Vaisakha the dark fortnight the lunar day 10. The messenger on this occasion was the Recordkeeper the illustrious Vivalha (la).

Written by the writer of legal documents Ja[sata ?]. Own sign manual of the illustrious and divine Jagakara.

NO 15—SUNGAL COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VIDAGDHA

(PLATE XVII)

The plate of Vidagdha measures 1' in width by 13' in height and contains thirty lines of which two are written vertically in the proper right margin. On the coniform handle to the proper right side of the plate there are moreover, three short lines containing the donor's subscription. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}$. The plate is well preserved except for a small piece missing in the lower proper

¹ A *blu* or *blu* is subdivided into four (*bl*) *vassila* is an aleut about 17 *ore*.

On the *us* or *sa* in the sense of a charter. Fleet, op. cit. p. 99 n. 2.—In Chamba rent-free land given to Brahman and temples now-a-days regularly does granted by the name of *susan*.

right corner, by which one *alsua* has been partly lost. Through the central portion of lines 13-15 there runs a rent which however has caused no damage to the inscription.

The engraving is remarkably clear the letters being well shaped and slimmer than is usually the case with Śāradī inscriptions. As regards its language also this copper plate inscription is superior to that of Yagikara varman. We note the omission of *msarga* and *anusvara* the substitution of *n* for *v* (three times l 25) and that of *n* for *m* (l 19 *sansara* l 25 *anse*) and the interchange of the sibilants (l 8 *āhasa*). Anusvara is substituted for final nasals including *n*. The word *paruna* (l 15) is used in the neuter instead of the masculine gender. In line 21 *āśta* stands for *asṛṣṭa*.¹ In line 21 we find the ungrammatical forms *bhūmjati* and *bhūmjaprasatu* instead of *bhūjāntam* and *bhūjajetu*. Some other mistakes are due merely to carelessness on the part of the engraver.

The inscription contains a certain number of Sanskritized vernacular terms which it is not always easy to explain. Thus in line 5 we meet with the expression *gaurāśāhana* evidently a synonym of *chātāśbhoga* (read *śatāśbhoga* No 21 ll. 10-16 and No 26 l 11) found in corresponding places on other copper plates. In the passage describing the boundaries of the land (ll 12-16) such terms are particularly numerous. Here we twice have the word *vidu*, evidently the modern *bū* which in the dialect of Chamṛ denotes the steep slope between terraced fields usually strengthened with a rough wall. The word *bagga* which here occurs twice in the names of fields (*Khambagga* and *Piṣhabagga*) has been noted above (p 160). In *lhadḍa* we easily recognize the modern *khod*² 'a precipice'. The word *lappata* means perhaps a rivulet. The terms *asikāśa* and *kullāśa* (l 16) which belong to the same class of expressions are immediately preceded and followed by a word meaning 'water'. There can be little doubt that *lullāśa* is the *bhasi* word *lulla* or *kullāśa* 'an irrigation channel'. The real Sanskrit word would have been *lulka* from which *lullāśa* is derived. We have met above (p 160) with the word *kolhāśa*, *kolhā* 'an irrigated field' evidently a derivative of *kulā*. Possibly *asikāśa* has some similar meaning. The words *rocikā* and *otola* I am unable to explain, judging from the context they would seem to denote some agricultural products.

In the beginning of the inscription (ll 1-5) the donor Viḍagdha is mentioned as a son of the Solu race and of the house of Moṣana and as the son of Yagikara varman and Bhogamati. The name of his ancestor Moṣana we have met with in a slightly different form in the range inscriptions of Meru varman. His father Yagikara varman is undoubtedly the same as Yagikara the donor of the Bithmor grant. Viḍagdha was consequently the grandson of Śhūla or Śhūla the founder of Chamṛ town.

The lands granted are said to be situated near the village of Siṃgaṅga the modern Siṃgal (map Sungul) 2 miles above Chamṛ town on the right bank of the Saho stream. The name of the district *Lavasa*(*la*) is probably preserved in that of the village of Tausi which may once have been the head quarters of the *mandala*.

¹ A similar mistake occurs in inscription No 6 l 2.

² B R has *gaddāśa* (or *gandikāśa*) K. Chertu The Panth VII N p 1000 O. Ghosh.

³ Cf. Benard No 16 l 13.

of that name. Most of the names of the localities mentioned in describing the boundaries of the grant (ll 11-15) are known up to the present day.²

The exact meaning of the special privileges connected with the donation (ll 15-26) it is difficult now to ascertain. It is however clearly stated that the gift is given in perpetuity and is not to be interfered with in any way. The clause enjoining that the head of the district (*cata cati*) was not allowed to enter the land seems to imply exemption from forced labour (*Sir vasi, Camb bith*).³ Rents and taxes (and apparently fines also) due to the king would fall to the share of the grantees. The present holders of the land assert that originally the right of sanctuary was connected with the grant and that this right was still exercised in the reign of Raja Chhat Singh (A.D. 1808-1844). But no reference to such a privilege is found in the title deed. The donor named Nandu (12) the son of Deddu (11) was a Brahman whose grandfather had come from Kruksetia the famous place of pilgrimage near Thanesar.

In the following three lines (26-28) we find the usual verses—ascribed to the Sage Vyasa the mythical compiler of the Vedas and the Mahabharata—in which the duty of maintaining the grant is emphasized. This is the only portion of the inscription composed in poetry. It consists of three stanzas two of which are in the Anustubh and one in the Indravajra metre.

The document is dated in the fourth year of Vidagdha's reign on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mṛgha. As previously stated, the grant was made on the occasion of the hibernal solstice (*Malāra samkranti*).

TEXT

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ श्री चम्पकावासकात्परमहाराज महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमद्युगाकरवर्म
देवपादानुध्यात[χ] परमव्र(1 2)ज्ञाण्यो निखिलमच्छासनाभिपूज्य गुरुवत्त देवतानुवत्त समधि
गत शास्त्रकुशलतया समाराधित विद्वज्जन (1 3) द्वयो नयातुगत पौरुष प्रयोगावाप्त त्रिवर्गमिद्वि
स(सम)यगजिताभिकामिकगुण सञ्चिततया फलित इव (1 4) सार्गतक[χ]। सर्वमत्वा(त्वा)ययनी-
(णी)यो भोपनाकाय (भोपणान्वय) आदित्य-वह्नयो(वह्नी)इव [χ] परमसाक्षिणी(र) श्री
भोममन्तेदेव्या(व्या) ससुल्लभ[χ] च (1 5) परमहाराज महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमहिदम्भ
देव \times कुशनी । स्वशास्यमान गदिकहरण गवह ताव (1 6) सक-मण्डल प्रतिबद्ध सुमङ्गल यामि
समुपाशता[न*] सर्वानेव राज राजानक राजपुत्र राजासाल राजस्थानीय (1 7) प्रसाद सरोभग
कुमारमाख्योपरिक विषयपति निवेष्टपति क्षदय प्रान्तपाल इत्यथोद्भवत्वावृ(ष्ट) तव दूत ग (1 8)
सागमिकाभिलरमाण खण(श) कुलिक शोणिक गौलिक खण्डरत्न तरपतिक कच(त्र)च्छाधिक वट
किल वीर्यात्रिक (1 9) सोमोदरपिक दण्डिक दण्डारामिक भोगपति विनियुक्त भागिक-भोगिक
चाष्ट भट सबकादे (दीन) मवानेव कीर्तिता (1 10) कीर्तिता(तान) राजपाद प्रसादोपजीविनी(न \times)
कुटुम्बि जनपदा(दा)श्च ब्राह्मणोत्तरा[न*] साष्टादश प्रकृत्याधिष्ठा(ष्ठा)नीयी(यान) सेंदाम्भक (1 11)

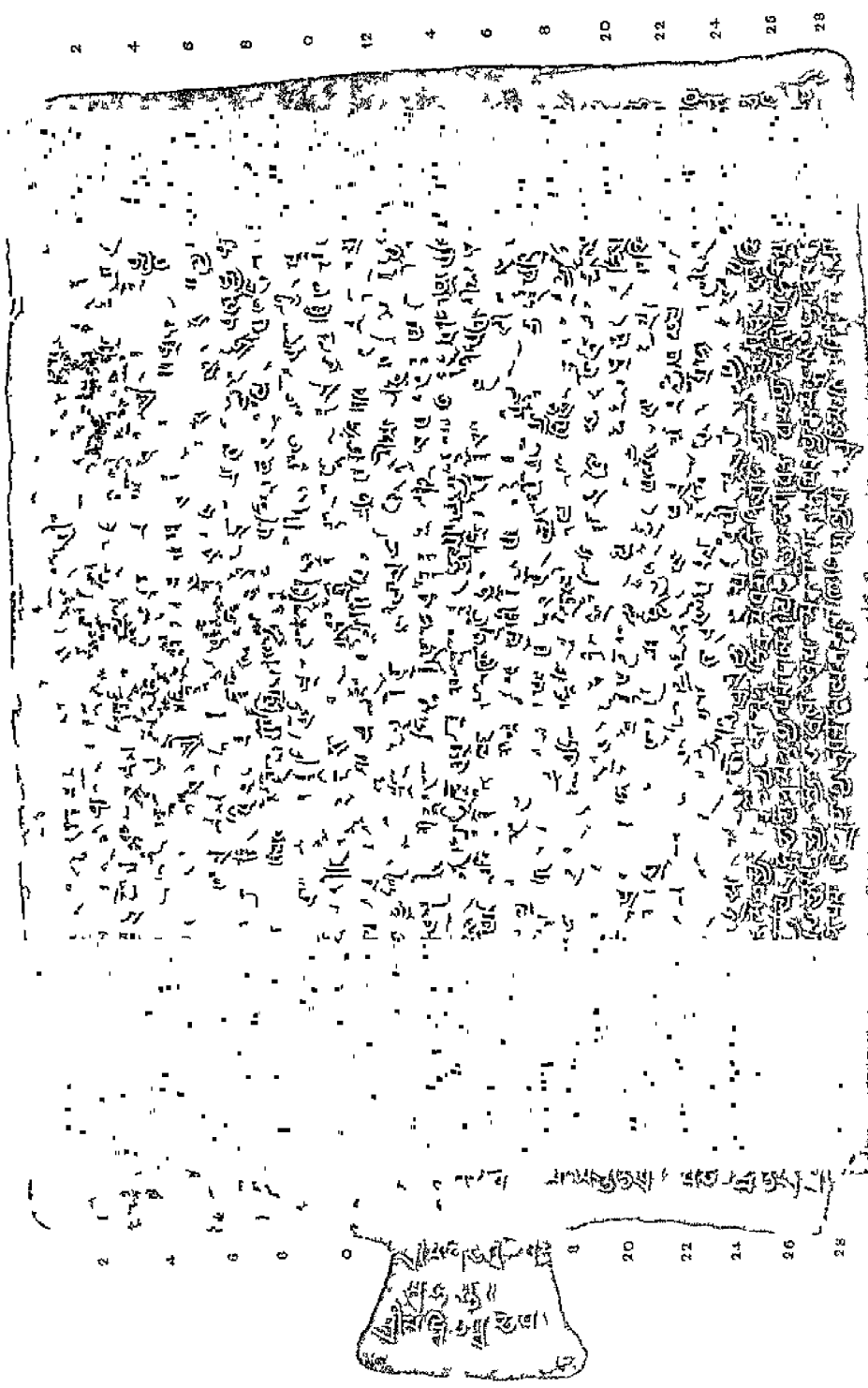
¹ Similar passage in which the natural boundaries of the granted land are generally found in the Chaht copper plate grants of the Mahammadan period. They are invariably in the verse metre and begin with the words *Alam apna*.

² In the latter stanzas one must note the expression *le bhagat*.

³ The *aligara* is provided with a mark.

⁴ No. 20 of the *aligara* which is probably correct. Cf. above p. 12.

Sung I Copper plate Grant



धीवर चण्डाल पर्यन्ता[नान्] सर्व सवाना(मान) ममात्रापयत्यन्तु वस्मविदितम्[१*] यद्योपरि
लिखित मुमङ्गल यमि मेरी ना (1 12) मा(स) भूगका यस्यामाघाटान्यसौ(नूनि) भवन्ति । पूर्व
दिग्भागे पाटलीयाग्रहारिक भू भीमा दक्षिण-दिग्भागे वृहत्तीडा नाम (1 13) सीमा पश्चिम दिग्भागे
खनिव्या वीडा सीमा उत्तर दिग्भागे ग्राहवन् नाम सीमा एव चतुराघाटपेता उपरिस्थित गृ
(1 11)ह शाकवाटिका ममता भूरेवा [१*] तथान्यास्मिन्नव ग्रामे लवाल नामार्धभूमी । यस्यामा
घाटानि भवन्ति । पूर्व दिग्भागे खड्डा । द (1 15)दिग्भागे वृहत्पापाण(ण) पश्चिम
दिग्भागे मन्वलिक्का नाम कुण्टी उत्तर-दिग्भागे गोचर पुष्करी पथ सीमा [१*] एव चतुराघाट(टी)
(1 16) पेत भूम्यर्ध उपरिलिखित भूम्यः सञ्ज माधा भू[]स्त्रसीमा तृण गौयूथी (गयूति) गाचर
पर्यन्ता मवा(व)नम्यल्युटकासीह्वार कुक्षक पाणी(नी)य (1 17)मसेता सागम निर्गम प्रवेश सखिल
पीलाच्या सदृशपरधा पुत्र पाचाध्वन्योपभावा अनाच्छद्या अपरिपुण्या अचाट म (1 18)ट
प्रवेशा अकिचिक्का अनाहारा आचन्द्रार्काणव क्षिति स्थिति सप्तकानोना मवा मातापिचोरात्मनश्च
पुण्य हेतव यशो भिह (1 19)इय । परलाक मय्यथोय सडमा (ससा)राणव तारणार्थ च ।
कुसनेत्र तोयाग्रम चिन्निर्गत ब्राह्मण दवन्न पीचाय देहुक पुचाय अर्नन्दुका (1 20)य काश्यप गोचाय
ब्रह्मचारिण चिद्रवराय वाजिसे(जस)नेयाय पुण्य चन्द्रुत्तरायण सङ्गाख्यामुदक पूर्वक प्रतिग्रहेणयहा
रवे (1 21)न प्रतिपादितम् [१*] विदित्वास्मदीयाग्रहार शासन प्रामाण्या[द*] यद्यष्ट भुजतु
(मुडकास) भुजापयतु(भोजयतु) भजमानस्य (भुज्जानस्य) प्रतिवामि जनपदै (र)या (1 22)ज्ञा अचण
विधिवर्भत्वा यथा समुचित भाग भोग कर हिरण्णादि सर्व राज भाव्य प्रत्यायमभ्योपदयम् [१*]अथ
चास्मदीय चा (1 23)ट भटान्यतरादिना गृहावतरण इरित पक्क सव्येचु चारण लवणा(नी)
पमर्दन रोचिक चिटोला ग्रहण गोचोर ग्रहण पोठक पीठ (1 24) का खट्टापहरण काष्ठान्न घान
बुमाटिक न केनचिद्यथाह्वम[१*] स्वल्पमाप पीडोपद्रव न कर्तव्यम्[१*] एतटाग(यि त डालिक गोपाल
(1 5) दामो दामादि नमस्त चन समेतस्य च । अतान्यथा शासनातिक्रम धर्महानि निग्रहो(ह)
स्यात् । आगन्तु राजमिरस्मडङ्गी(हश)जेह (1 26)मासान्य भूदान पालमवच्याय ब्रह्मदार्थो नुस
न्तव्य[१*] । परिपा(पा)लनीयश्च उक्त भगवता वदव्यस्मिन् । वडभिवसुधा भुक्ता राजास (1 27)
स्मगरादिभि [१*]यस्य यस्य यथा भूमि[स*]तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्[१*] सुवर्णमक[क]गौरिका (गामका)
भूमि(म)रप्यकमङ्गल [१*] ह्वार(र)वरकमाप्नोति यावच्च (1 28)न्द दिवाकरौ । (1) दत्तानि
दानानि पुरा नरन्दैर्यन्त्य(न्य)त्र यमाय यशस्कराणि । निरान्यवन्त(त्)लपतिसाणि(नि)तानि
की णा(ना)स माधेX पुनरादधीत (दीत) ॥ (1 29)प्रवचमाण(न) कल्याण विनय राज्य सवत्सर
चतुर्थ मवत् 8 माघ शु ति प्रतिपद(त)१ [१*] दूतीवयौ [या](1 30)दित्यवधन[१*] ॥ *लखित
(न) मद्या मुखगानजे ॥ ओमहिदग्धदव स्वहस्त[१*] ॥ ओमहिदग्धदव[१*] ॥

TRANSLATION

And from [his] residence at the glorious Capital, he who reverently
remembers the supreme prince the Lord of Kings the supreme Lord the illustrious
mighty one Yugalakya man be the very devout one who having attained expert-
ness in the Law by his devotion to all good commandments by his敬意
towards the spiritual preceptors and by his obedience to the duties thus propiated
the hearts of the learned who by the practice of his every commandment has
acquired success in the three times of life who by his complete attainment of

him] the Brahman student¹ of the house of Kāśyapa the descendant of three prominent sages (१३१) and adherent of the school of the Vajisaneyas on the auspicious day of the lubernal solstice

(L 21) Having understood this he should freely enjoy and make [others] to enjoy [this grant] on the authority of our charter. The subjects resident in the enjoyed land in obedience to our command will have to deliver to him the regular share and use-tax in kind and cash and every other tribute due to the king. And of our district officers and their subordinates and others no one will be allowed to alight at his house, to cut or crush his corn, sugar cane or pasture⁽²⁾ whether green or ripe nor to take *rootles* or *erolus* or to take cows milk, nor to carry off stools, benches or couches, nor to seize his wood, fuel, grass, chaff, and so on. Not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be inflicted on him nor on his ploughmen, cowherds, mads, servants and all other people that are dependent on him. Otherwise in case of infringement of [this] order, the evil will be punishment for breaking the law. Also the future kings born of our race considering the common merit of bestowing land should recognize and preserve this hereditary inheritance.

(L 26) It has been said by the venerable sages of the Vedas: 'Many kings from Sagara onward have enjoyed the land. Whose is the ground, his is the fruit. Whosoever shall take away one gold-piece, one cow or one inch of land he will remain in hell as long as moon and sun shall endure. Those gifts which have been given by previous princes ensuing here [in this world] spiritual and material gain and glory and respected like the remnants of a sacrifice, what pious man indeed would take them back?'³

(L 29) In the fourth year of the increasing, fortunate reign of victory, anno 1 [the month of] Mṛgha, the bright fortnight, the first lunar day 1. The messenger on this occasion was the illustrious Adityavardhana. Written by me, Subhārjya.

Own sign manual of the illustrious and divine Vidagdha. The illustrious and divine Vidagdha.

NO. 16.—SPURIOUS SAI COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VIDAGDHA VARMAN.—(PLATE VIII)

This copper plate measures 10½ in width and 6 to 6½ in height. It contains fourteen lines of writing, lines 11-13 are half lines written vertically on the side margin to the proper right and line 14 is incised in verse on the top margin. The side margin contains moreover the signature in two short lines and at the bottom we find half a line in the vernacular in somewhat smaller type. The remainder of the inscription is in Sanskrit. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 1½. The inscription is clearly engraved and the plate is in an excellent state of preservation. Its present owner, Brijā, a Brahman resident at Sui (Gudā d pāṭṭana) is still in possession of the land described in the title deed.

¹ The word *brahman* may also be taken in its classical sense of 'Brahmanical student' or in that of a Śaiva sect of ascetics founded by Śaṅkarācārya. Cf. Oman, *Myths and Legends of India* (London 1903) p. 15.

For *blāṇa* cf. Fleet, *Gupta I* ser. p. 918 for *bhāṇa* id. ibid. p. 119. 1 and for *bhāṇa* id. ibid. p. 110 n. 1. The title according to the proposed emendation is *śaṅkarācārya* of *śaṅkarā*.

The inscription pretends to be the record of a grant of land by Vidagdha-varman to a Brahman Kalasi Sarman by name. There can however, be little doubt that the copper plate on which it is engraved was never issued by Vidagdha who, as we know ruled in the 10th century A.D. The character of the inscription alone is sufficient proof it is the Takari found on copper plates of the 16th and 17th centuries¹. It should also be noticed that the inscription is dated in the Sishta year 27 whereas this era was not used in title deeds until the 14th century the earlier plates being dated according to regnal years. The very corrupt language of the inscription also points to a much later date than the 10th century. Finally it may be noted that the clause *teda era sara* "तदेवरासरा" is regularly found in the same words on the later copper plates but on the specimens of the pre Muhammadan period the idea is expressed in a different manner. The subsequent description of the boundaries also is in the style of those later documents.

On the other hand the inscription has certain features in common with the early title deeds of the period to which it is alleged to belong. This leads me to think that it was partially at least copied from a title deed actually issued by Vidagdha-varman. It opens with a stanza in the *Vasantatilaka* metre in honour of Siva which is to be restored as follows —

नन्दै नमः परम कारण कारणाय दीपुञ्जलञ्ज्वलन्ति पिङ्गल दीचनाय ।

नारिन्द जार व्रत कुण्डल भूषणाय ब्रह्मन्द् विष्णु वरदाय नमःशिवाय ॥

Such verse are regularly found at the beginning of the Chamba copper plates of the 10th and 11th centuries, but there is not a single instance on plates of the Muhammadan period. Two orthographical points deserve special notice. In *namas Suvaya* we find the final sibilant assimilated to the initial sibilant of the following word. This is a peculiarity of the pre Muhammadan period, in later epigraphy the final *s* is changed into *sa*. In the first line we have *namas parama*. I presume that in the original the first word ended in *upadhma* which the maker of the spurious plate mistook for *sa* to which it bears a close resemblance, if placed vertically. It has to be remembered that the *upadhma* *ya* dropped out of use in this part of India quite about 1200 A.D. These observations lead us to infer that the original was not copied from memory but that the engraver actually had before him some genuine plate of Vidagdha part of which he transferred into the character of his time not without making numerous blunders. The subscription in the margin points to the same conclusion for this also is a feature peculiar to the earlier copper plate inscriptions. The engraver only repeated erroneously the *visva* *ya* and the double stool after the first half of the compound.

The original document seems no longer to be extant. It is clear that it cannot be the Sungal plate of Vidagdha edited above (No. 15) as it does not contain the initial stanza. The fact that another plate of Vidagdha existed up to a few centuries ago is of some interest.

It is interesting that the village of Sungal is mentioned here by its ancient name, *Samamali* which we have already met with in the immediately preceding inscrip-

tion (No 15). The other localities referred to in the description of the boundaries—the village of Salo, the Mumed Khed and the hamlet of Balvair—were still known by the same names. The rock marked with a hoe (*tandi*) is also said to be still extant. The word *taluru* denotes also a rock. It is probably the same as *talri* which occurs in the names of the two *pa.ganas* Lol Liku and Bhutti Silu.

TEXT

आ स्वस्ति ॥ १ तस्मै नमः परमकरणाकारणाय दीप्त्योज्ज्वलञ्ज (१ २) लित पिङ्गल नीचनय ।
नगच्छद्वृत्तकुण्डल भृगुणय तस्मै (१ ३) न्द विष्णु वरदाय नमश्चिदाय ॥ श्रीमत्सकल गुणगणालङ्कृत
(१ ४) मूर्ति । याचकचन दरिद्र दावानल सकलवर्णाग्र्यम धर्मप्रति (१ ५) पालक श्री परममहारक
महाराजाधिराजा श्रीमद्विदग्धवर्म दे (१ ६) वेना । अयं नाम ग्राम [६] श्रीमा पविमिन (त) । अत्रि
गोत्राय कलशिशर्षण (१ ७) ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमङ्ग सप्रददे (ते) ॥ तदनेनामसतामेनाचदस्यर्ष
(१ ८) द्वाण्ड स्थिति पयतमुपभुञ्जते ॥ अथ श्रीमा प्रवादिषा टि (१ ९) कुरु पर्यंत श्रीमा ।
दक्षिण दिशा शान्ति पश्चात् । टकिकाङ्कत (१ १०) शिना पयत श्रीमा पश्चिम दिशा सुमगलस्य
रापथ-पयता श्रीमा ॥ (१ ११) उत्तर दिशा चालिनलि (१ १२) पयत घर ऋत सञ्चि (१ १३)
मुरखो पङ्क पर्यंत श्रीमा (१ १४) वल्गर कस्तरान पयत श्रीमा ॥ शुक्ल सवत २७ माघे शु ११ (२)
लिखितमिदं भट्टाचरण्य (Subscription) श्री विदग्धवर्मा । देवस्वहस्त ॥ (Vernacular) जो
कोई मर वम द होए ती कि ना कण गतमत

TRANSLATION

But Homage to Him the ultimate Cause of causes whose eyes are blazing red
and lustre flaming—adorned with four rings wrapped in serpent garlands Born in
India Vishnu's Patien—Hail to Siva!

The illustrious [prince] whose frame is adorned with the full number of all virtues who resembles the fire of most conflagration [in his behaviour] towards supplicants and poor the protector of all the castes the orders of religious life and of the law the illustrious supreme prince the king of kings, the illustrious and divine Vidagdha Sarman grants a village Siva by name limited by its boundaries to the Brahman Kula Sarman of the house of Attri. It is to be enjoyed by him and his offspring for as long as the moon the sun and the earth shall endure these are the boundaries. On the east side the boundary is as far as the rock on the south side the boundary is as far as the hoe marked rock behind [the village of] Salo, on the west side the boundary is as far as the cattle tract of Samangala (i.e. Sungal) on the north side the boundary is as far as the Gali Nali including house and shop the boundary is far as the Mureda Khad, the boundary is far as [the hamlet of] Balyara Kharatoti(?). In the Saka year 27 [the month of] Magha. Written by Bhattacharya. Signature of the illustrious and divine Vidagdha Sarman (In vernacular) Whosoever there will be of my race . . .

For a rest relend n₂ of the sin as above 1 1 0

The contrition of ill sentences is political wrong

³ *Itelvi* उपभोजनीयम्

३. पुनः शान्ति

* Probably अग्निनाम्नी

६. निष्कर्ष। महावर्धन

The capital stands rather low to our present level compared to former suggestions. I have represented the value of Pratapnagar and other principal taluquas at Rs. 11 lakhs and Pratapadahanahalli at Rs. 10 lakhs. The Government has no objection. And so I go.

² The words *सम्यक्* I have left untranslated.

* The rest of the students: nothing to be

No 17—TUI IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THAKKIKI

(PLATE XIX a)

Besides the rock inscriptions noted above (No 10)¹ the village of Tui has yielded three inscribed stones which were all found on the same spot inside the village and have since been brought to Chamba Town and placed in the State Museum (Nos. 124). Two of the stones are evidently detached pedestals of images, they are provided with a mortice to receive the tenon of the image and with a water spout to allow the sacrificial water to run off.

One of these slabs measuring 2½ by 1½ by 6 bears an inscription of six lines of 23 each except the last line which is 17 in length. The letters which are on the average ½ in height are clearly cut but a considerable number of them are more or less worn away or damaged. The two ends of the first line are completely destroyed by which some three *alvaras* have been lost at the beginning and some sixteen *alvaras* at the end of this line. In the second line also the initial three *alvaras* are indistinct and the last twelve *alvaras* are uncertain owing to the surface of the stone having peeled off. There is a crack through a portion of the first line by which the first six *alvaras* have become injured.

The language used in the inscription adds to the difficulty of its interpretation. It is Sanskrit but the words follow each other without any syntactical connection. We may assume *a priori* that the inscription records the erection of the image to which it belonged. This assumption is confirmed by the word *prasthitam* preceded by a date at the end. But the object the erection of which it is meant to record is apparently not mentioned. We find however in the first line a deity involved whose name reads *Sri Thaklika svamin* and there is every likelihood that this is the god represented by the image. It is true that no member of the Hindu Pantheon bears this name but it was the custom in Kāśmīr² and probably in other parts of India to give an image the name of its founder, with the words *deva* or *svamin* added to it. Well known instances are afforded by the temple of Meruvadhva svamin founded by Meru vadhana at Pandhālan, those of Avantisvamin and Avantisvama at Vantipur (Avantipur) named after their founder Avanta svamin and the two temples of Patan called Sankarasvamin and Sugandhesa after Sankara svamin and his queen Sugandha. In general the term *svamin* in such compounds indicates an image of Visnu and *varaha* or *vara* one of Siva so that in the present instance the inscription presumably refers to a Visnu image.³ The only objection to my interpretation is that the person who erected this image is mentioned in the inscription under the name of Thakkika (13) or Thakkika (11). The resemblance however of this name to the first part of that of the deity involved in the beginning of the document is so great that I have no hesitation in regarding the latter as *Sri Thaklika svamin* or *Srinat Thaklika-svamin*.

¹ See also p. 11 f.

The proper name of the place *prast* (*prast* would have been more correct) cf. above No 11 f. 13.

² Cf. Stein *Rajastan* vol. II p. 369. The form exists also in Rajastan.

³ It is true that in the inscription on Thakkika calls him off a varaha (11) per of Siva but this need not have prevented him from calling him an image to Visnu.

Besides the founder's name we find that of his father Prakata his grandfather, Carata his great grandfather—Thaka and his great great-grandfather Canna. The progenitor of his house was Dhara who is called *samanta*, Lord of Makuta and *malarya thiraja*. Regarding the position of Makuta I am unable to offer any suggestions but it should be noticed that it occurs also in the Yamvahi (verse 70). Possibly it was the old name of Tur.

It is interesting to meet here for the second time with the ancient name of Brahman. Brahmapura already noticed in the copper plate grant of Yugalara Varman (No. 11. 1. 6). Unfortunately, owing to the stone being broken it is not clear in what connection it is mentioned here. The title *samanta* indicates that Dhara and his descendants were feudatory chiefs, no doubt dependent on the Rajas of Brahman and Chamra. The inscription is dated in the first year of the reign of Vidagdha, and at the end of a long series of partially obscure epithets Thakkaka is said to have found high favour with Vidagdha deva. This Vidagdha can be no other than the Chamra Raja whose copper plate grant has been edited in the course of this work (No. 10). To him Thakkaka owed allegiance, and the mention of Brahmapura perhaps indicates that the same relationship existed between Thakkaka's ancestors and the ancient rulers of Brahman.

TLXT

[आ स्वस्ति] श्रीमहिदध राज्य सवत्सर १ ॥ श्री नमो(म) श्रीयक्षिकस्वामिपादा
(दाभ्याम) ॥ — — — — —

(1 2) [सवर्धि]त महाय्यी सामन्त सकुटाधिपति महाराजाधिराज श्रीधरण श्रीवज्रपुर म[ध्वस्व]
(1 3) श्रीधर वडयो (वयो)इव श्रीचण पुत्र यो खिक पुत्र श्रीचरत पुत्र महाराजाधिराज
श्रीप्रकट पुत्र श्रीयक्षक परमसाहेब 1 1) [र] टव गुरु अभिरत भक्त। महाराजाधिराज श्रीयक्षिक-
केसरि मङ्गलम विष्णोश्च (विष्णो) १ गुण सागर सोह (सिन्ध) घरा [क्रम] (1 3) जय श्री [अभिनाम] 1
खडगकथानुसार निजभुज-प्राकार वन्दि(त्य)न समर[र] २ ॥ ति' निपुवन सन्नाम श्रीमहिदध टव लख
(1 6) पर प्रसाद-महाराजाधिराज ॥ साच गति हादग्या मौसवार प्रतिष्ठितम ॥

TRANSLATION

Hail In the first year of the reign of the illustrious Vidagdha. Reverence to
the feet of the illustrious Thakkaka Varman (1 2) By the very
illustrious baron, the lord of Makuta, the king of kings, the illustrious Dhara
in the midst of Brahmapura. In the lineage of the illustrious Dhara was born
the illustrious Canna, his son was the illustrious Thaka, his son was the illustrious
Carata. His son was the illustrious Thakkaka, the supreme overlord of the Great
Lord (Śiva) delighting in the adoration of the deities and the spiritual preceptors

The lower end of the two old axes of the inscription illustrate
Between the and the end of the first
Of the two the first is the first and the second is the second
It seems that the first is the first and the second is the second but owing to the fracture of the
the proper reading is to be considered to be the first
Before it is evidently an error as in the first. On account of the preceding error we may assume that it was the
syllable though I have not met with the expression in any other place. It is also possible that it is the
in the first which would be a better reading.

He, the king of kings the illustrious Shakkika disposed himself in the combat with the maned lion was an ocean of virtues of lion like prowess, the terror of the hostile host when in the joy of battle¹ he raised a rampart with his own arms reddened with the crossing of swords in search of victory and won great favour with the illustrious and divine Vidagdha the true king of kings Elected in [the month of] Māgha the bright fortnight, the twelfth lunar day on Tuesday

NO 18—TUR IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF DODAKA

(PLATE XIX b)

The second of the inscribed slabs noted at Tur must likewise have belonged to an image. It measures 3 by 2 1 by 7¹ and bears an inscription in three lines each about 18 in length. The letters which measure $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ " in height are badly formed and in places damaged. In the first line most of the *alvaras* are broken at the top, but enough remains to enable us to decipher it. The language is Sanskrit but the vowel marks have often been omitted. As the greater portion of the inscription consists of conventional royal titles the uncertain syllables can be easily restored.

In the inscription it is recorded that an image of Krattikeya—evidently that of which the inscribed stone formed the base—was elected by Dodaka. This Dodaka may be identified with the Chamba Raja who in the *Vamsavalī* (verse 82) is called Dogaḍha and there figures as the son of Yugakara and the father of Vilagadha. From the Tur inscription however, it is clear that Dodaka was the successor, and presumably the son of Vidagdha, whereas the latter was the son and successor of Yugakara. This last point is moreover, established by Vidagdha's epigraph (plate XXV) (No 15).

TEXT.

श्री स्वस्ति ॥ श्री महाकाशिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमद्युगाकर [पुत्र-श्री] (1 2) विदग्धदेव-पटनु
धृत (पादानुध्यात-)परमेश्वर परमभट्ट(ह्य)रक श्रीमदो(द्गो)द [1 3] कदेव [कामु]क देव-श्रीसा (स्वा)
मिकार्तिक [४] श्रीदोदक(के)न स्थापित[५]

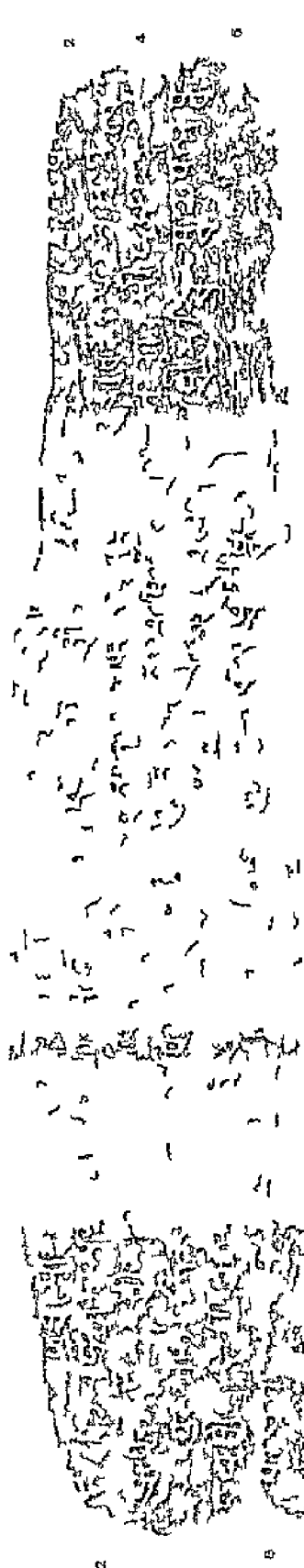
TRANSLATION

Hail! The illustrious Dodaka has elected [an image of] the illustrious lord Krattika that god who loves the supreme lord, the supreme prince, the illustrious Dogaḍha—him that reverently remembers the illustrious and divine Vidagdha, the son of the illustrious king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Yugakara.

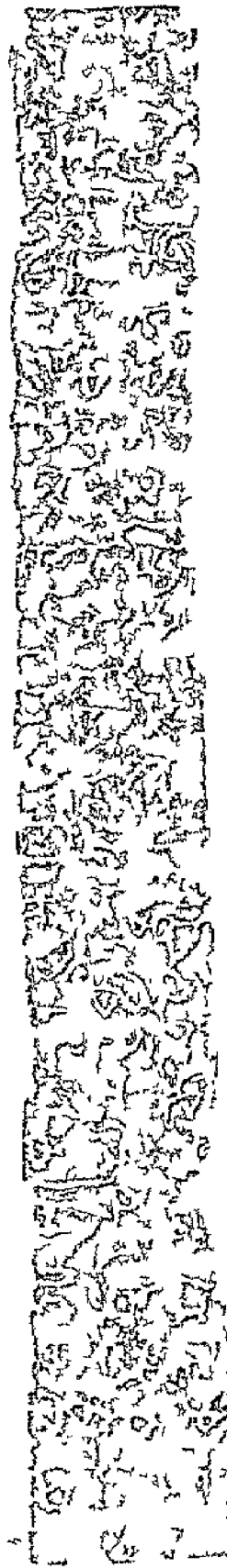
NO 19—TUR IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XIX c)

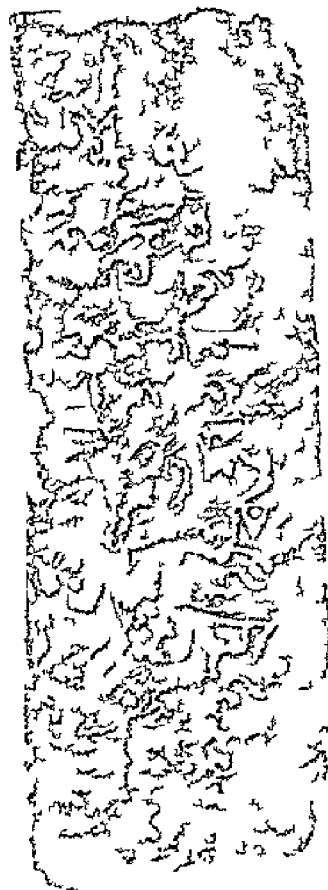
The remaining Tur inscription occurs on a much defaced stone statuette of inferior workmanship (height 1 11, with 1) now placed in the State Museum (Cat No 1, 1). It represents a standing four armed goddess, presumably Parvati,



C E 040



SCA E 030



the spouse of Śiva. One of the two left hands is missing. The figure seems to hold a trident (Śaṭṭrī) in one of her right hands and a snake (Śaṭṭrī) in the preserved left hand. A lion, the vehicle of the goddess rests at her feet.

The inscription carved on the base consists of three lines and 9 in length. The letters which measure 1" to 1.5 in height are well formed but unfortunately nearly the whole of the writing is obliterated. The only word which is quite distinct is *pratiṣṭhita* in the first line. Here as in Nos 14 (l. 13) and 18 (l. 6) this past participle is used instead of the causative *pratiṣṭhapita*. It suffices to show that the inscription records the erection of the image on which it is engraved. After *pratiṣṭhita* and separated from it by a double vertical stroke we read *ananta* followed by the *al-sara-gla*. I presume that the latter forms the beginning of the past participle *ghatita*. In fact the second *al-sara* of the word is still traceable though apparently it is provided with a long *i* stroke. If this solution is correct the preceding word is the name of the maker of the image in the instrumental case. Probably we have to read *Ananta*.

The word preceding *pratiṣṭhita* in all probability gave the name of the deity represented by the image. The last letter is certainly *ta* and the last but one may be *dha*, *pa*, or *ha*(*ta*). Perhaps the word was *Bhagavati* which is also used in the Srīnaga image inscription (No. 13) and is a general title of female deities. It should however, be remarked that there is no trace of an *r* stroke connected with the *t*.

In the second line the only *al-sara* which is distinct is an initial which here presents the same archaic appearance as in the Srīnaga *pratiṣṭhita* (No. 13, l. 1). It is preceded by an *al-sara* of which only the *a* mark beneath is preserved. The letter following *i* seems to be an initial *a*. It is not clear how these two letters could follow each other in a Sanskrit record but we have had frequent opportunity to observe that the language of the Chamba inscriptions is often far from correct. The remaining portion after the supposed *a* I propose to read *sahā* [a] *jae* *ta*. The *e* stroke over the first *a* can still be traced.

This reading if correct would yield the word *sahā* in its vernacular form which elsewhere in inscriptions is regularly Sanskritized as *sahāyā*. We may assume that the donor of the image belonged to the house of hereditary *sahā* who once held sway at Tur as is evident from the other image inscription (No. 17) discussed above. His name seems to be *Ashta* or perhaps *Ashta* (Inesistible) which is almost identical with that of *Ashta* borne by a feudatory of Meruvarman (Inscription No. 9 l. 5). It is also possible that *Ashta*(*y*)*ur* is to be taken as one name. The rest of the inscription is too much obliterated to allow of even tentative decipherment.

ILLU

(L. 2)

क इ त्रमाह (ह) रणेन

(L. 3) भिगवत(ती) प्रतिष्ठित(ता) चनन वट(टिता)

TRANSLATION

[This image of] Bhagavati has been erected by Rana Ashta[ur]. It was made by Nana.

No 20—DADVAR FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF TRAILOKYA DEVA ŚASTRA [41]17 (A D 1041)

(PLATES XX AND XXXVII a)

The hamlet of Dadvar is situated 2½ miles north of Thra and belongs to the first *pargana* of the *Chamba w. sarat*. A profusely carved fountain slab broken into three pieces was found here in 190a. It has since been deposited in the Chamba State Museum (No A 6) and refixed. It measures 5' 9" in width and 3' in height. In the centre we recognize Varuna with his lotus flower. On each side of this figure are three horizontal bands of ornamental carvings the lowermost consisting of a pair of buds with elaborate tails a design very common on stones of this kind. Beneath Varuna is a square opening to receive the spout. On both sides we find the usual dwarf pilaster and eight petalled lotus rosette surmounted by a narrow band of scroll work. The whole of these carvings are enclosed within a double serpent border.¹

On the plain rim between the horizontal top portion of this border and the inner carvings there runs an inscription in one line 5' long divided into two portions owing to the fracture of the stone. This inscription is well preserved. The letters which measure from 2" to 3" though shallow and badly shaped are legible throughout. Originally the stone had a panel projecting from the centre of its top. Only a corner of it now remains. Beneath it we notice another short line of writing of which the concluding portion has been lost with the greater part of the panel. The first two *alvaras* also are indistinct.

I read the preserved portion of this upper line *Samvat 17 Śrīmatrasilo*. The last *alvara* though partly missing may be considered as certain. The concluding part of the line cannot have consisted of more than eight *alvaras* as the gap is about equal in length to the preserved portion. In view of the Naghar and Bhakuni fountain inscriptions (Nos. 21 and 22) which are both dated in the reign of Trailokyadeva I have no hesitation in restoring the upper line of the Dadvar inscription as follows *Samvat 17 Śrīmat[?] Trailokyadeva rājasevat* followed by a figure expressing the regnal year of Trailokyadeva in which the stone was erected. It will be seen that the Bhakuni inscription is dated both in the Śastrā era and in the reign of Trailokyadeva. There can be little doubt that in the present instance also the figure 17 refers to that era. We find it moreover repeated in the beginning of the second line without any mention of a reign but immediately followed by the notation of the month fortnight lunar day day of the week and *nakṣatra*.

This very full indication of the date enables us to find the corresponding year of the Christian era. We may assume on palaeographical grounds that the date lies between A D 900 and 1300. The Śastrā year 17 can therefore correspond to A D 911 1041 1141 or 1241. I find that for these four years *Jyestīr date 12*

¹ Cf. loc. cit. p. 231.

On Trailokyadeva cf. above pp. 11.

² The same era also occurs in the Bhakuni inscription.

Dadivār Fountain Inscription.



SCALE 0.375

Bhakbhānd Fountain Inscription.



SCALE 0.20

(*purnimanta*) corresponds to April 26 Monday April 30 Thursday May 3 Monday, and May 9, Thursday, respectively. As the week day recorded is Thursday, it follows that the only possible date is the 30th April of A.D. 1011 on which the moon stood in the lunar mansion *Revati*.

Thus the Dadiar inscription has enabled us to fix not only the time of Trailokya-deva but also that of the Bhakund and Naghar fountain stones which were both erected in his reign. For the rest the document under discussion does not present anything deserving special notice. The language is as usual in fountain inscriptions very corrupt.

TEXT

सवत १७ श्रीमन्त्रे लो [कदेव राज्य सवत -]
(1 2) ओं स्वस्ति ॥ सव[त] १७ ज्येष्ठवति १२ बृहस्पतिवार रवती नक्षत्र । ब्राह्मण
सेहिल पुत्र भोग (भन) वरुण-देव[*] स्थापित[*] । ममार भव भीतिन । स्वर्गे कृत रेखा ॥
इति शुभ भवति ॥ इति भद्र ॥

TRANSLATION

In the year 17, [in the year? of the reign of] the illustrious Trailokya-deva.¹
Hail! In the year 17 [the month of] Jyestha the dark fortnight the lunar day
12 on Thursday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion *Revati*,
has [thus] fountain stone (*lit* god Varuna) been erected by Bhoga the son of the
Brahman Sahila, fearing with the fear of existence. A line made in heaven.²
Thus will it be blessed. Thus [will it be] fortunate.

No. 21.—BHAKUND FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF TRAILOKYA DEVA SASTRA [410]† (A.D. 1018-9)

(PLATE XX)

Bhakund is a hamlet situated in the Bhakund Nala some 5 miles north east of
Tiss Kohli in the *Tiss pagana* of the Gurah *ra-asat*. An inscribed flat stone 4
9" long 3 10" wide and 2" thick was discovered here in 1901 on the top of a wall
belonging to one of the houses of the village. It is now preserved in the Chambha
State Museum (Cat. No. A, 5).

The inscription consists of three lines which measure 1, 1 4" and 1 6" respec-
tively in length. Unfortunately the proper left end of the slab is broken off
causing the loss of the concluding portions—probably some eight syllables—of each
of the first and second lines. At the beginning of the first line the symbol for *Om*
also is lost with a corner of the stone. The letters are 1 to 2" in size and very
distinct, though rather shallow and evidently not cut by a professional sculptor.

The language of the Bhakund inscription is less faulty than that of later
fountain inscriptions. *Samāhi* rules are neglected in *nama* (1 1) and *Satkradine*

¹ The original is remarked also in *Sastriya*.

² The original has *Revati*.

³ The line is broken the upper between the *sky* *ra-asat* and *na* owing to which the latter is partly de-
stroyed.

⁴ The words placed between square brackets are missing in the original.

⁵ The meaning of this phrase I cannot explain.

(1 2) The single consonant has been substituted for the double in *Srima Trailokya* (1 1) and *utara* (1 2) and the double consonant for the single one in *Sukradine* (1 2) *nal sutra* (1 2) and *its sikhram* (1 3). The lingual *n* has been used instead of the dental in *Plalgun* (1 2). The character shows some remarkable archaic features. The *aksara* *u* (1 1) pronounced in (1 2) still retains a remnant of the ancient base stroke. Medial *r* is throughout expressed by the *prathamitra* except in *dhie* (1 2) where the superscribed sign is used. Medial *ar* in *Trailokya* is rendered by the *prathamitra* and the superscribed stroke combined. For medial *o* on the contrary the superscribed mark is used throughout. The ligature *stha* (1 3) has its later type. The cursive loops of the *aksaras* *u ta da, ma* deserve special notice.

The man who erected the Bhal and fountain stone was apparently not a Rana but a Brahman judging from his father's name ending in *savaran* and from the absence of any titles. The inscription is dated both in the Sastara year and in the reign of Trailokya deva but the notation of the regnal year or the month the fortnight and the lunar day has been lost at the end of the first line. From the Dabhar fountain inscription (No. 20) however we have drawn the conclusion that Trailokya-deva lived in the first half of the 11th century. The Sastara year 4 of the present epigraph must therefore correspond to the 28th or 29th year of the 11th century of our era.

TEXT

स्वस्ति ॥ आ नम वरुण देवाय नम सवत शास्त्रीये ४ श्रीमन्नैलोक्यदेव र

[1 2] शुक्रदिने उत्तरफल्गुनी नक्षत्रे भोशर्म पुत्र परिपूर्णन ससार भय भी

[1 3] स्थापित इति शुभम्

CORRECTED READING

[आ] स्वस्ति ॥ श्री नमो वरुण देवाय नम । सवत शास्त्रीये ४ श्रीमन्नैलोक्यदेव रा[ज्य—]

[1 2] शुक्रदिन उत्तरफाल्गुनी नक्षत्रे भोशर्म पुत्र परिपूर्णन ससार भय भी[तिन वरुण देव]

[1 3] स्थापित । इति शुभम् ॥

TRANSLATION

Bhal. Adoration to the god Varuna 'Adoration'. In the Sastara year 4 in the reign of the illustrious Trailokya deva on Friday at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Uttaraphalgun, has this fountain stone (his god Varuna) been erected by Paupurna the son of Bho sarman fearing with the fear of existence. Blessed be it!

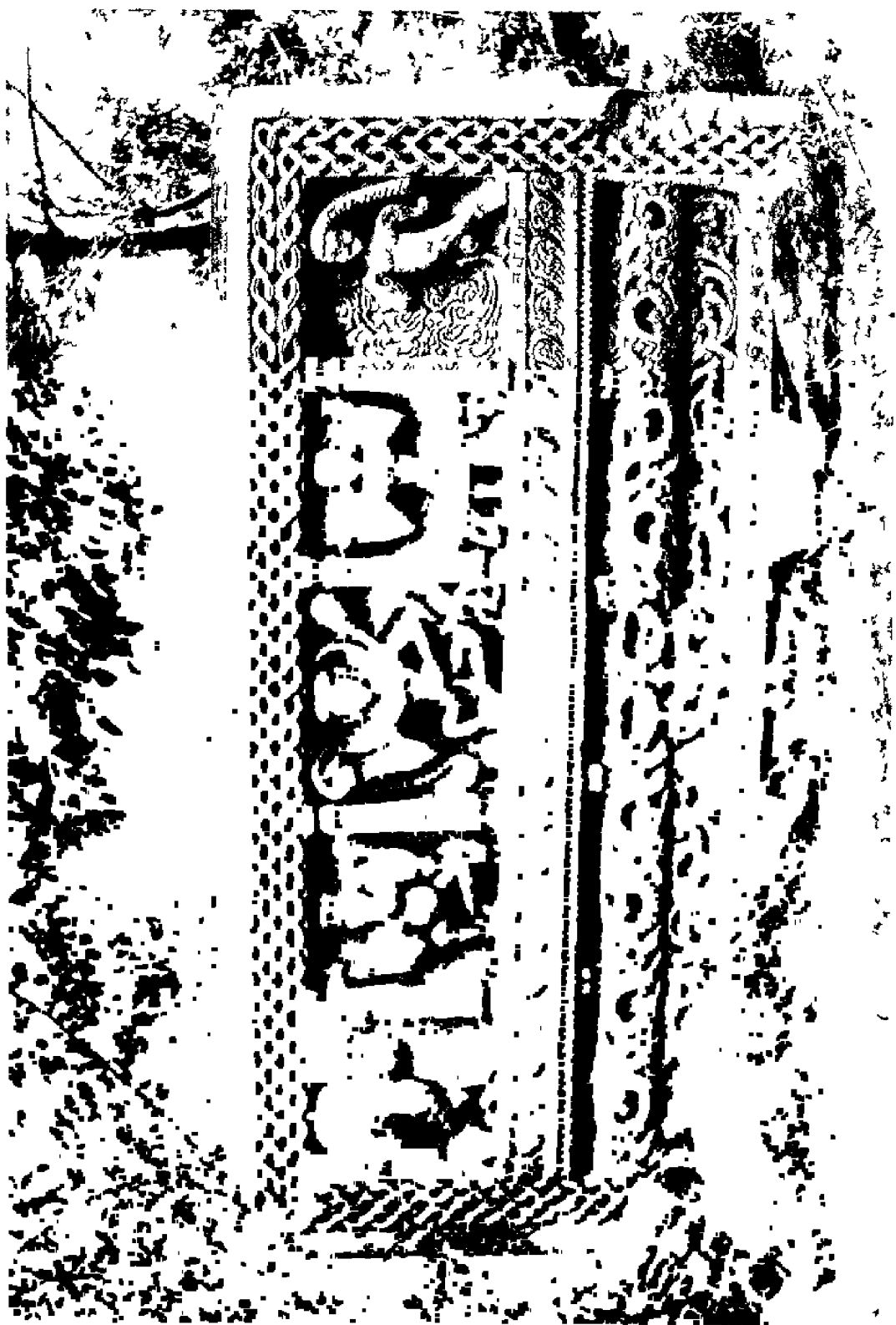
NO. 23.—NAGHAI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE RAJANAKA
DEVAPRASADA DATED IN THE REIGN OF TRAILOKYA DEVA

(PLATES XXI XXII)

About 1890 half a dozen carved fountain slabs of large size were unearthed in the jungle below the village of Naghai 2 miles south of Sri Koth in Garhak. The largest specimen which is still standing and measures 5.2 m. height by 3.7 m. width is much defaced. The upper portion is divided into five panels each of which

The curve of *ya s t l* is high

This portion can be restored with certainty from Nagou passage in other fountain inscription



contains a figure. The central figure armed with a trident and a mace evidently represents some divinity, perhaps Varuna the god of the waters in whose honour such slabs are usually erected. To his right we find a standing male figure with a sword in his right hand, a shield in his left and a dagger in his girdle. To the left of the central panel there are two figures, possibly meant for a woman with a child. Each corner panel has a rudely carved horseman. In the middle of the lower portion of the slab a square hole has been cut out to allow the water to run through. It is enclosed on each side by a dwarf pilaster and a lotus rosette. Over each division there runs a horizontal band of decorative design whilst a serpent-border encloses the whole of the carvings. Behind this stone there are two smaller slabs, each 1 5½" high and 6 6" wide one of which is still standing.

Another large sized slab the lower portion of which is broken measures 3 6" in height and 6 1½" in width and is divided into two portions by a broad horizontal border of exquisitely carved scroll work, in the centre of which a pair of birds are introduced. Over and beneath this border there runs a narrow band of leaf ornament. The upper division consists of a row of five sunk panels each containing a clumsily carved figure separated by square pilasters. The central panel is occupied by a seated deity holding a snake in his right and a lotus flower on a long staff in his left hand. To his right is a hind of animal, perhaps meant for a *valanda* and to his left a miniature human figure. In the panel adjoining the central one to the proper right we recognize Ganesa, holding a hatchet and a flower accompanied by two animals which probably represent mice. The corresponding panel to the proper left side contains a female figure standing with her two hands raised palms upwards. The left hand holds a water-vessel. She wears besides the usual ornaments, only a short petticoat reaching down to the knees and fastened round the loins by means of a girdle. The two little figures seated on each side at her feet evidently represent children. Each of the corner panels contains the figure of a harpy (*Uruksa*) with little wings instead of arms, a short bird's tail and a long crest falling down from the head. The carvings are enclosed on the three sides within a double serpent border.

The lower portion of the slab must have had a spout hole in the centre flanked by two dwarf pilasters the capitals of which are still extant. Between them we distinguish a row of apparently flying figures which must once have surmounted the spout opening. Over the figure of Varuna also a portion of the stone is broken off. Presumably it was a projecting square panel as is sometimes found on fountain-slabs. (Cf fig. 11.)

Along the raised narrow band beneath the row of figures there runs an inscription in one line which is continued on a similar band between the leaf and scroll work borders. The first line measures 3½" in length and the second only 10". The letters which are 2 to 3" in size are very shallow and indistinct especially in the beginning portion of the epigraph. The reading of this part is therefore uncertain. The inscription records the erection of a Varuna deva i.e. the slab on which it is carved—by Deva prasada the son of Rana Naga prasada the son of Naguka for the sake of [the bliss in] the other world of Rana Mekhadi. We may assume that the Rana who may have been the wife of Deva prasada is represented

¹ On the second page plate XXII the first line is divided into four

on the stone by the female figure at the side of Vamuna. That the persons for whose sake such stones were erected were sometimes portrayed on them is proved by the Su example (No 35). The circumstance that the Rani is accompanied by two children and another child lies down at the feet of Vamuna perhaps gives a clue as to the peculiar reason, for which it was considered necessary to erect so elaborate a stone for the sake of the deceased Rani. It is said to be still the custom in Chamba to erect stones for women who have died in child-bed. This custom is based on a wide-spread superstition that the souls of women who die in child-bed become evil spirits.

Possibly for this same reason the Naghma stone was erected to assure peace to the deceased Rani in the next world and to her relatives in this one.

TEXT

[श्री खस्त्रि ॥ परममहाराज^१] महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीम[ह]कोक देव राज्य सवत ३^२
 यावण वति — चन्द्रदिने धनिष्ठा नक्षत्रे स्थापित । महारथी न[गुकपौष्ण] राजानक श्री नागप्रसाद
 पुत्रेन श्री देवप्रसादेन राज्ञी श्री मेखनाया[^३] परलोकार्थे व[१ २]हण देव[^४] स्थापितम् (त १)
 अति शुभम् [॥]

TRANSLATION

And In the 3rd (?) year of the reign of the supreme prince the king of kings the supreme lord the illustrious and divine Tralokya in [the month of] Sravana the dark fortnight the lunar day, on Monday at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Dhanistha [was this stone] erected. By the grand son of the very illustrious Nagu(ka), by the son of the Rani the illustrious Nagaprasada by the illustrious Devaprasada was this fountain stone (*lit* god Vamuna) erected for the sake of [the bliss in] the next world of the Rani, the illustrious Mekhala. Blessed be it !

No 23 — BAHNOLA MOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF
 SOMA VARMAN — (PLATE XXIII)

In the summer of 1908 an inscribed fragment of a fountain slab was discovered near the village of Bahnola in the Loh-Tikri *pargana* of the *Curah wazirat*. It is now placed in the State Museum and numbered A, 7. When discovered the stone was used in a flight of steps leading up to a dwelling house, which accounts for the central portion of the lettering being much worn. Besides the stone is broken on both sides so that to the right and to the left parts of the inscription are missing. The remaining fragment is 1 9½" high and 1 4" wide. The upper half is carved with horizontal bands of decorative design through the middle of which there runs a plain rim with one line of writing 12 long. The lower half is inscribed with eight lines (2 9) partly obliterated. This part of the inscription, when complete must have occupied an oblong panel measuring about 20 in width and 10 in height, which probably was placed over the spout opening of the slab.

^१ The first two *also* are partly traceable.

Between 3 and 4 is a small person which possibly represents zero. There is sufficient space for a second figure, but the surface is worn.

Nighty Fountain Inscription



SCALE 0.00

Lines 2 & 3 are 10 " to 11 " in length but the concluding portion (ll. 6-9) is only preserved for a width of 7 "

As the contents of the inscription are very similar to those of other such documents found in the Loh Tilai *pargana* it is possible to restore the missing portion to a certain extent. Thus it appears that between the second and the third lines ten *aksaras* are lost and between the sixth and seventh lines fifteen *aksaras*. If the first line contained the full stanza which in a modified form occurs in the Bhairavi fountain inscription (No. 36) also we may infer that on the proper right side six teen syllables are lost and that consequently on this side the larger part of the stone is broken off. For this reason I have placed the restored portions at the beginning of the lines.

The inscription was evidently fully dated both in the Śaśtri era and in the regnal year of the ruling chief Raja Sonavarmān whose name is found in line 3. Had it been complete it would thus have enabled us to fix the year of accession of that prince and at the same time the date of Anantadeva's invasion and Silahama's dethronement. Unfortunately the Śaśtri year as well as the regnal year are lost. So is the name of the donor. From other sources we know that Sonavarmān's accession must have taken place about the middle of the 11th century and that Ananta succeeded him before 1067 S. These data supply an approximate date for the Dalneta fountain inscription.

Line 1 and lines 5-7 contain four stanzas which as remarked above occur on other fountain slabs and can be restored except the one in lines 5-6 which has not been found elsewhere. These verses all emphasise the merit of erecting a fountain stone in honour of the god Varuṇa. The Sūśrūt seems here to be less incorrect than in similar passages of other inscriptions. The concluding two lines of the epigraph are apparently composed in the vernacular but their fragmentary state renders it impossible to interpret them.

The inscription is well executed. The letters as far as they are preserved are well shaped and distinct. Their measure about 10, in height & breadth, which is also noticeable on the copper plates of Sonavarmān and Ananta that postconsonant *i* and *u* are sometimes expressed by a *li* or *lu* written over the consonant and turned towards the proper right and left respectively but not continued along the side of the consonant. See e.g. the word *Asan* in line 2.

TEXT

- [न च वरुणाख्य धर्म न च वरुणाख्य तपः । न च वरुणाख्य देव तशु नरकशु वि[पुनः] ॥¹
 (1) 2) [श्री स्वस्ति । शाल मयत ।] आ श्रुति १५ सीरीटिन* अश्विनी नक्षत्रे प[रमः]
 (1) 3) [भट्टराज महाराजाधिराज प[रमशु]र श्रीमन्मोसवर्म देव* रा[ज्यः]
 (1) 4) [सवत । पिचोण । सार्धना²] य परलक्षा[व]
 (1) 5) [वरुणदेव स्थापित । ॐ ॐ तेन शरी [रेण ॐ] च भवो न वम ---]

* The pseudo-sanskrit line is lost according to the rest of the inscription (No. 3) I cannot see how it would be. न वरुणाख्य धर्म न वरुणाख्य तपः न वरुणाख्य देव तशु नरकशु विपुनः ।

¹ The vowel stroke over a word here is illegible.

² I read श्रीमन्मोसवर्म

उपनिषत्सु साधनम्

- (1 6) ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ [प्राप्ते] लोको हि शायित¹ [॥²] गवा³ [कीटि प्रदानेन]
 (1 7) [अह्ण सोमसूर्ययोः । म]म तुल्य-फल देवी वरुण यः प्रतिष्ठयत्
 (1 8) . वरुण । घण सचैव .
 (1 9) . यद खणि जइ ॥ श्री

TRANSLATION⁴

No higher religious merit than [the erection of] a Varuna [slab] No higher ascetic merit than [the erection of] a Varuna slab No higher god than Varuna is known in the three worlds

Ha !! In the Sastya year . [in the month of] A on the 15th day of the bright fortnight, on Saturday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Āśvini In the year of the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings the supreme lord the illustrious Soma-varman of divine descent

for the sake of [the bliss in] the next world of the deceased ancestors male and female [this] fountain stone (literally god Varuna) has been erected by the body the eternal world is gained By a gift of ten million cows at an eclipse of the sun or moon an equal merit [is attained as by him] who erects [an image of] Devi or Varuna

No 24 —KULAIL COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SOMA VARMAN
 (PLATE XXIV)

This copper plate grant of Raja Soma varman was brought to my notice in the summer of 1902 I subsequently edited it in my paper on inscriptions in Chamba State⁴ The copper plate is 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ wide and 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ high and consists of twenty four horizontal lines In the proper right margin the subscription of the donor and two short lines containing the names of the officials concerned with the grant are written vertically Over these the signature of the previous Raja Salavahana, the father of Soma-varman can still be traced partly running through the initial aksaras of lines 5-17 The plate is in a fair state of preservation except along the proper right margin where both corners are broken In the upper corner the symbol om, the initial aksaras of the first two lines and the initial aksaras of the subscription are missing In the lower corner five aksaras of line 22, probably two of line 23 and one of line 24 have been lost besides the lower portions of the two short vertical lines in the margin Along the lower edge of the plate some rents are visible one of which has been clamped The letters are well engraved their average size is $\frac{3}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$

¹ Read सायित

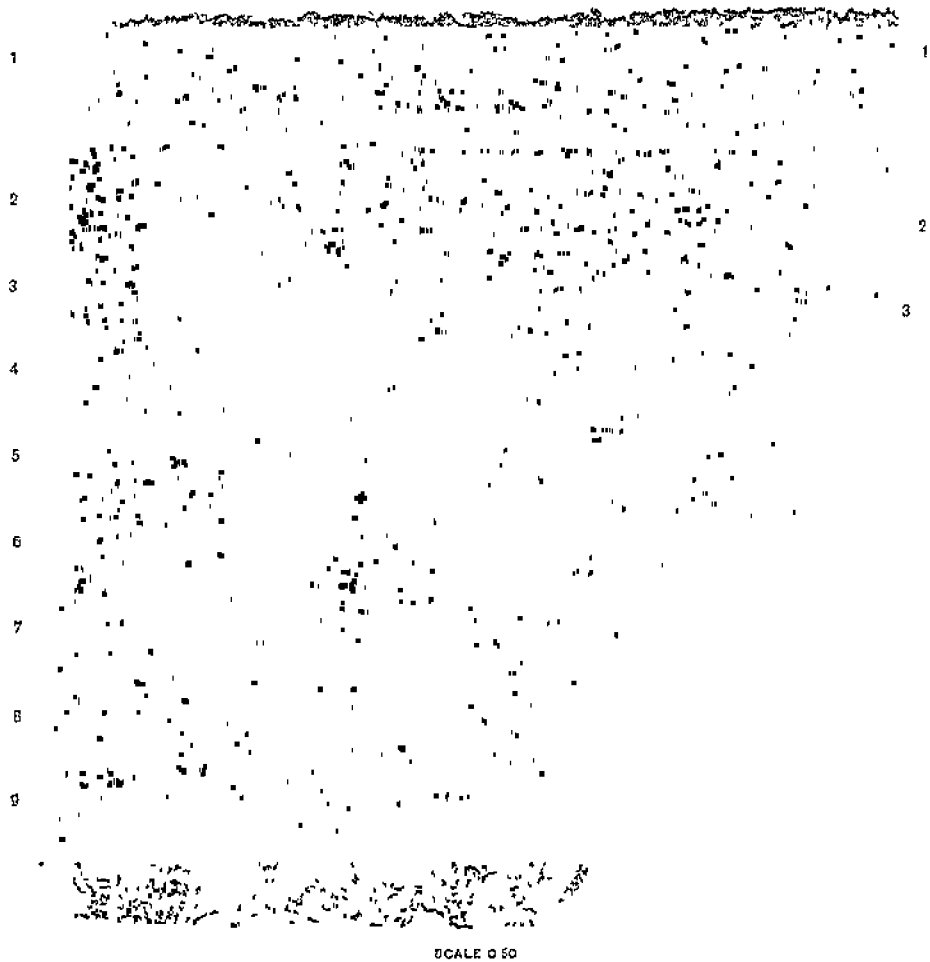
² The aksaras here restored according to the readings of the Ehar inscription (No 36 B 14-17) It also occurs in the Sub Tira (No 29 B 7-11) the Nagale (No 11 B 6-7) and the Sihar inscriptions (No 43 B 6-8) In correct Sanskrit it would be गवा कीटिप्रदानेन यद्वण सारं पृथया । सः तुल्य फल देवी वरुणो वा प्रतिष्ठित ॥

The *prada* गवा कीटिप्रदानेन occurs in a *śloka* found in copper plate inscriptions (No 11 B 1st 18 No 25, B 20 2)

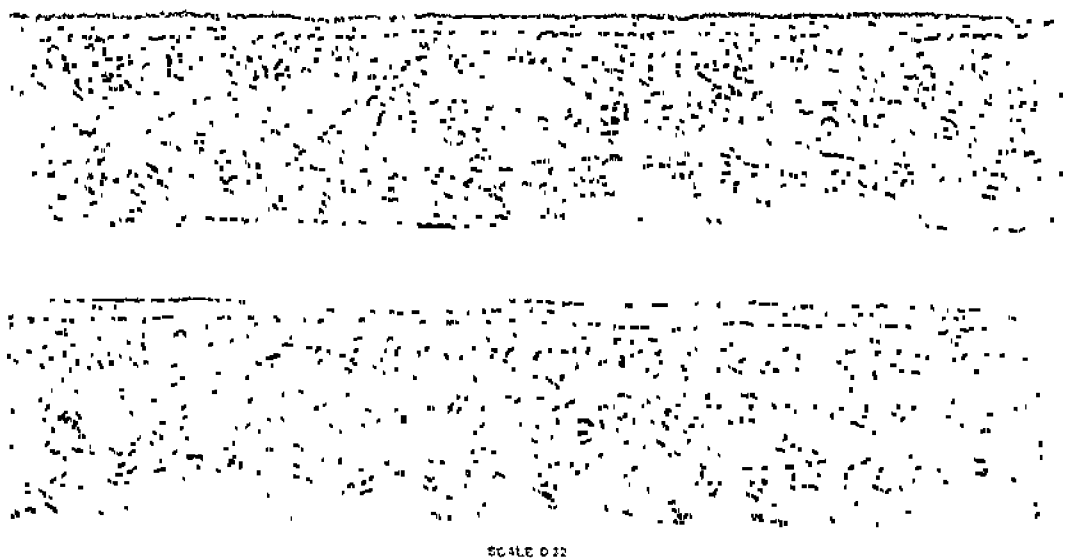
³ The vernacular fragments in lines 8 and 9 I have left untranslated

⁴ A R A S for 1902-03 pp 200 ff the first rule III

Bahnöta Fountain Inscription.



Sivā Fountain Inscription



The plate records a grant of land by Raja Somavarman the son of Salivahana. The latter as we know from the Rajatarangini was deposed by king Ananta deva of Kashmir and replaced by another ruler. From the fact just noted that Salivahan's signature is still traceable on the plate there can be little doubt that Somavarman was his immediate successor and consequently the new ruler installed by Ananta. The granted land was situated at Kulalagotha the modern Kulat in the district of Lughattika which corresponds to the *Trehta paragar*a on the Upper Ravi.

The inscription opens with a stanza in the *Puspitag*a metre in praise of the three great gods Brahma Vishnu and Siva. The same verse is found at the beginning of another copper plate grant issued by Somavarman together with his brother and successor Asata (No 25 ll 1-2) and also in a corrupt form in the Silha fountain inscription (No 38). Subsequently no less than nine lines (2-10) are devoted to a eulogy of Salih, the glorified ancestor of the donor. This passage occurs also with slight modifications on the title deed of Somavarman and Asata. The praise lavished on the reputed founder of Chamba is not merely of the conventional kind usually found in Indian inscriptions. It speaks of a successful war waged by him against the Kuru troops of the Lord of Dugar (Durgara) and then allies the Samantas of his alliance with the ruler of Kangra (Enguta) and of his suzerainty over the principality of Kulu (Kuluta). It mentions a pilgrimage performed by Salih to Kuruksetra on the occasion of a solar eclipse and his great liberality on that occasion. Apparently his gift of a multitude of elephants which afforded him the honourific title of 'Elephant man' had the desired effect of securing offspring for his house through the favour of its mythical progenitor the sun god Bhaskara.

The encomium bestowed on Somavarman himself is, on the contrary, purely conventional though no less elaborate. We may conclude therefore that this prince had not rendered himself conspicuous by any exploits. Whether he had really uprooted and replanted the royal power of several princes may rightly be doubted as this belonged to the duty of every right minded ruler of ancient India.

The inscription is dated in the 7th year of Somavarman's reign but as stated above there are no data to fix the exact time of his accession. All that can be said with certainty is that it cannot be removed from the middle of the 11th century. When first editing this plate I assumed that its date could be fixed owing to its having been issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse. But on re-examining the original I have come to the conclusion that the damaged syllable following that indicating the month (*Bhāra* = *Bhadrapada*) is *u* and not *ī* as I first read it. It is, therefore, certain that the date of the inscription does not coincide with that of the solar eclipse at which the grant was made. Other instances are known of copper plate grants being dated on a day subsequent to the donation.²

¹ *Rajast. VII 118* = *Ind. Studien* Vol. I, p. 296.

² Hermand of Lavan of Kankasara. The date is born according to *Rajast. IV 46* by a Tabhara magra both of Lal and of the Lal and also by the magra (Rajast. VI 11).

³ See Prof. Kellner's *Ind. Studien* Vol. I, p. 50. *J. P. Ind. Vol. V, p. 1.*

It is a point of special interest that both the Prime Minister (*Śki mahamatya*) and the Great Record keeper (*Śki mahāśapatalika*) mentioned as 'messengers' at the end of the title deed bear the title *rajana* i.e. *raja*. Whether this title here denotes a feudatory chief or is merely honorary does not appear but the former alternative seems more likely. The name of a third official is only partly preserved. Between the initial *i* and the three syllables *thatalah* in the next line some eight *aksaras* appear to be missing. We may, therefore, assume that here also the official's personal name was preceded by his designation perhaps *śapatalika* connected with the *aksapatala* office.¹ It will be noticed that the *a* is followed by a short almost vertical stroke which is also found after *la* (for *layastha*) in the next line and after *bra* (for *brahmara*) in line 22 and evidently is meant to indicate an abbreviation. If so this *a* may stand for *aksapatalika* and the missing portion may have been the word *rajana* followed by *Śki* and the initial letter or letters of the official's personal name. The name of the *layastha* of which only the initial *aksara* *de* is preserved may be restored with some degree of probability from the grant of Asata (No. 26 I 21) which was written by two *layasthas* one of whom is called Śivapa the son of Devapa.

Some vishnu's grant though neatly engraved is by no means free from errors. Most of these seem to be due to thoughtlessness on the part of the engraver. Some times we find syllables or even words left out which we have restored from inscription No. 25. On the other hand we find a syllable repeated in *paripapulita* (l. 13). Vowel marks have been omitted in *Kmāśatila* (l. 5) for which No. 25 I 5 has the correct form *Kmāśetia* in *pratiṣṭita* (l. 14) for *pratiṣṭita* and in *dayaselo* (l. 16) for *dayasalo*. Mistakes for which the author of the inscription may be held responsible are partly due to the peculiar local pronunciation of Sanskrit. Thus we find *re* for *r* in *reṣa* (l. 21), *g* for *y* in *pramya* (l. 15) and an interchange of sibilants in *masi* (l. 7) for *masi* *visi* (l. 17) for *visi* *sasyamana* (l. 20) for *sasyamana*. The form *varsa* (l. 10) for *varsa* nearly represents the local pronunciation *bemsa*. For the rest such mistakes are almost entirely limited to trespasses of *son* *li* rules which I have left uncorrected in my transcript. Marks of punctuation have been frequently omitted.

ILAST

[आ स्वोस्ति । श्री नमस्विनाय ॥ जयति भुवन कारण स्वयम्भू जयति पुरन्दर नन्दनी सुरारि [१*] जयति गिरिमुता निरुड देहो (l. 2) [दु]रित भयापहरी हरश्च देव ॥ श्री चण्डिका वामकात्परम ब्रह्मण्यो ललाट तट घटित विकट भुकुटि प्रक (l. 3) ट-कुटि(टि)त कटक सौमटिक कृतमानाय दर्शनश्चर समीर सन्धुजित कीर वल वलवद्वायुगुञ्जलि क्षण क्षण (l. 4) नव जलधरस्य । दण्डोपगत विमर्ताधिपानुनय प्रार्थित सन्धानस्य । सदा विधि व्यय स्वकुल कुलेश्वर कर्म व्यतिज्ञा (l. 5) र-प्राथ्यमान गन्धार्पण प्रसादस्य । कुरुक्षेत्रे(नेत्रे) राष्ट्रपराग समय समर्पि(र्पि)त मद गन्ध लुब्ध सधुकर कुलाकुल कपोल फ (l. 6) लक्ष करि घटा दान प्रीति प्रसन्न मानस भगवद्भक्त्याभि नन्दित निजान्वय प्रसूति प्रसूरा सार करिव्याभिधानाभ्यु (l. 7) दयस्य तत्काल निमित्त निमित्त

¹ Cf. also No. 14 I 13 and beneath No. 26 I 21 also See note at Rajal V 301 and Butler's *India* 10

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the leaf. The ink is dark and the handwriting is cursive.]

महीपाल सुहृद् मही(पी) कुचिका [*कीर्ति] सुगमित भक्त भुवनाभाष्य । निरतिशय शौचादार्य धै
 (I 8) यागाध वाग्धीर्ध मयाटा दया टाक्षिण्य वेनक्षस्थ कजरित कामदग्ध ग्रिचि कर्ण युधिष्ठिरादि
 प्रवर प्रसिद्ध दर्शन सफल (I 9) न लोका लोचन मगारम मूर्ति (ते) भगवच्छ्री गूढक स्वामि दव
 प्रख्याप्यमानान्य सामान्य स्फार स्फुरदुर(क) मञ्जिस्व समर म (I 10) हृद्य मन्त्रिधान कार्यान्(कोपा
 जित) साहसाङ्ग निग्नङ्गमल मटमन्त्रिङ्गा(स्त्रिङ्गा) व्यपर पयायस्य । पा(मो)पण^३ वै(व)श
 भृषण मन्त्राण (I 11) श्रीमन्त्राङ्गिण दवस्य ॥ निर्मल कुल तिलक भूत निगद्य विद्या विनोद
 रस रसिक अग्रय शास्त्र परिमल्लाधि[*]वामित] (I 12) सज्जन अग्रणि विमल गुण गणालकृत
 सूर्ति विवर्कैक वसति दव द्विज गुरु पूजा निरत मतिरतिशय(धि) (I 13) त शौटोय शालि
 स्पृहणीय विक्रम क्रम परिपापालित (परिपालित) चान्तरण (चान्तरण्य) अवस्थ दुर्वार वैरि बल
 विपुल दर्प दलन व्य (I 14) श्रेय करवास्व वला[न*] टाक्षिण डोटण्ड मच्छु प्रनयान्वात प्रतिग
 (री) पितामह नरनाथ प्रथित प्रौढ प्रभु शक्ति (I 15) वाक्षित वस्तु विस्तर परिपूरित सकल प्रणिजि
 (णधि) जन मनोरथ शशधर कर निकरावदात यश[*] प्रसर प्रकाशित (I 16) सवाश मकल
 कला कलि पञ्चल विलास उदय श(श)नो मित्र मण्डलस्य उन्पा(त्या)त कतुरञ्जित जनस्य । असाधा
 (I 17) रण शौचालि(र्जित) यशो राशि प्रकाशिताश(प) विस्त(य) प्रदश पौ(भा)पणान्(ज्व)
 योम(द्) वत्पिण् मातृ भक्ति विनिजित राम खरित (I 18) परममाह्वर परमवैष्णव परमभट्टारक
 महागजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमन्मालवाहन देव पादानुध्यात प (I 19) रसमहारिका महाराज्ञी श्री
 रत्न दवी कुचि क्षीरभीरनिधि मुधादीधिति परममहारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री (I 20)
 मन्त्रोसवर्म दव X कुशली स्व सा(ग)स्यमान विघटक मण्डल प्रातवद । कुनिकगोष्ठ रङ्गुक सुत
 रणादित्य सत्त्व एतत्पुत्र उग्र (I 21) इत्य तासो[*]दु भुरेकाद्वत रङ्गुक सुत मद्र(त्क) भृ^१ एव स्व
 सीमा नि(ह)ण शौयधी(गव्यूति) गोधर पर्यन्त म खिलोपखिल स वनस्य (I 22) [लुदक रु]
 निर्गम प्रवेश । आराम विश्राम सहितमा चन्दार्क । त्रा । काश(श्य)प गोत्रागाय(गोत्राय) ।
 त्रिप्रवराय । वाजिस्व (वाजसनय) शाखाय । (I 23) — — — पौत्राय । त्रिप्रवराय । भट्ट
 रङ्गशाय । सूर्य ग्रहण निमित्त^२ अग्रहारत्वेति प्रतिपादित इत ऊर्ध्व(र्धु)मा चन्द्राक पुत्र पौ (I 24)
 [च]यो[र] भोक्तव्यम [*] प्रवर्धमान कल्याण विजय राज्य सवत ७ भा शुनि ३ दूता च महामन्त्र राजा
 नक श्री गेहिल मन्त्राक्षपटलिक (I 25) राजानक श्री काहिल आ (I 26)
 न्हुयुक [*] लिखित का दे[वपेन^३]
 [श्री]मन्त्रोसवर्म दव खरित ॥ Original subscription [श्री]मन्मालवाहन दव खरित ॥

The words shown in parentheses are corrected from the original page No. 185. The words in brackets are also shown in the original page No. 185.

Revised from 185 to 186

Copy No. 1

Revised from 186 to 187

The corrected version is available in the original page No. 187.

* The words in parentheses are corrected from the original page No. 187.

The words in parentheses are corrected from the original page No. 187.

The words in parentheses are corrected from the original page No. 187.

* More correct the expression in the original page No. 187.

Copy No. 187

TRANSLATION

Hal! Reverence to Siva Victorious is the Cause of the world, the Self-existent (Brahma) Victorious is the son of (Siva or India) the Destroyer of castles the Enemy of Vana (Kishno) Victorious is He whose body is held by the Mountain daughter (Durga) He who removes distress and danger—Hail the god

(L 2) From his residence at the glorious Carvā the highly devout (King Somavarmā) who is an ornament of the spotless house of the illustrious Sahillā of Kinnor descent—that great jewel adorning the race of Musunā¹—who (Sahillā) was a fresh rain cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kinnor forces fan ed as by the wind by the Lord of Durgā assisted by the Saumatilās, whose camp was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown produced on the slope of his (Sahillā's) forehead, whose (Sahillā's) alliance was humbly sought by the ruler of Tugvā subdued by force, who (Sahillā) was asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return for services by his kinsman, the Lord of Kulatī anxious to render him homage, who (Sahillā) had the fortunate name of Kaurvāsa (Elephant rain) on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity joyfully granted by the Lord Bhaskar (the Sun god), whose mind was contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants, whose flat cheeks were covered by a swarm of bees attracted by the scent of the ant-secretion and which were bestowed in Kumbhsetra at the time of an eclipse, who (Sahillā) has made the ement of the seven worlds fragrant *by his fame* [printed] with the ink brushes which were the mouths of all the princes assembled (at Kumbhsetra) on that occasion (the solar eclipse), who (Sahillā) by his unequalled kindness and compassion combined with unsurpassed bravery generosity, firmness and unfathomable profoundness has impaired the fame of Jamadagni's son (Parikṣit), Sibi, Kinnor Yudhisthira and such like heroes, by looking upon whose (Sahillā's) lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful, whose (Sahillā's) widespread greatness brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence was renowned like [that of] the lord, the illustrious Sudhā a samunt of divine descent, who (Sahillā) by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles had acquired such names as Sahasrāśa (Marked by rashness) Nissandamallā (the dauntless Wrestler) and Matamata-tsumhā (the roaring Lion)—

(L 11) [King Somavarmā] who delights in passing his time in attaining faultless knowledge whose mind is *perfumed* by the fragrance of every science, whose form is adorned with an innumerable number of spotless virtues he the only abode of discrimination whose heart takes delight in the worship of the deities the twice born and the spiritual preceptors, who possesses enviable courage full of excessive manliness who in then proper order maintains the status of the four castes whose strong arm is dexterous in brandishing the fierce falchion intent on crushing the great pride of the irresistible foe, who (Somavarmā) by his

Her as well as the 11th and 12th are translated according to the proposed emendation. If we read P. 11a it renders well the 11th Sūtra.

1. I translate according to the proposed emendation as *śaṭa* instead of *śaṭaṭaṭaṭa*.

2. It is the name of the hero who is the old Indian folklore and is the reputed author of the 15th Sūtra of the 11th Ch. (Cant.)

excessive majesty has uprooted and replanted the mighty and widespread royal power of several princes who has completely fulfilled the wishes of all his favoured ones by profusely granting to them their desired objects, who by the effulgence of his glory bright like the multitudinous beams of the Harb holder (the Moon) has illumined all regions who takes an exquisite delight in every art and sport, he, the eastern Mountain where from the orb of the sun (*alias* the circle of his friends) rises [but] a Comet of calamity to the wicked he who has illumined all the quarters of the universe by his fame acquired by extraordinary heroism he born in the house of Musun who by his devotion to his parents has outvied the piety of Rama he the supreme worshipper of the Great Lord (Siva) and of Vishnu, he who reverently remembers the supreme prince the king of kings the supreme lord the illustrious Sahasrabahu of divine descent and was born from the womb of the supreme princess the queen the illustrious and divine Indira even as the Moon was born from the Milk ocean he the supreme prince the king of kings the supreme lord, the illustrious Somavaman of divine descent, the prosperous one

(L 20) has granted one *bhu* in Kulika *gaṣṭi* which belongs to the Pūṣṭi (Kṛ) district of his domain and was occupied by Rāṅga (1)'s son Paṇḍita and belonged to the latter's son Udmā—in figures 1 *bhu* occupied by Rāṅga (1)'s son—is far as its limits with grass grazing and pasture ground with tulow land large and small with fruit trees and water with ingress and egress together with gardens and resting places for as long as the moon and the sun [shall endure] to the Bhīṣma of the house of Kaśyapa, the descendant of three prominent Sages (i.e.) and adherent of the school of the Vijayanāyaka, the grandson of _____, the son of Brahmin Bhūta Rahaṣa—on the occasion of a solar eclipse as in *agrahara*. To be enjoyed henceforward for as long as the moon and the sun [shall endure] by son and son's son.

(L 21) In the increasing fortunate reign of victory anno 7 [the month] Bhā
[bhādr] the bright fortnight the lunar day 3 The messenger on this occasion
was the Prime Minister, the illustrious Jani Bahā the Great Record keeper,
the illustrious Rina Bahā the illustrious Nathana Written by the writer of
legal documents, the Ia[yastha] Defayra

Own sign manual of the illustrious Somavamin of divine descent (Original subscription) Own sign manual of the illustrious Salavahana vamin of divine descent

NO. 25.—CHAMBER COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SOMA VARMA
AND ISAPA.—(PLATE XVI)

This copper plate belongs to the temples of Han Pa and Gampavati both in Cambodia and is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat. No. B. 5).

The inscription was first brought to notice by Sir Alexander Cunningham and was subsequently edited by the late Professor T. J. Ashmole. I have re-edited it in my preliminary article on the inscriptions of Chandi. Here again I desire to acknowledge the great assistance I have derived from the work of so eminent an

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authority on Indian epigraphy. My transcript—it will be seen—differs but slightly from that of Professor Kielhorn which was prepared from an imperfect rubbing. In my translation I have adopted the rendering of certain passages, as given by my predecessor in the course of his paper. The only point, on which I venture to differ in my conclusions from those of that distinguished scholar is the topography, in elucidating which I had the enormous advantage of an investigation *in loco*.

The plate measures 18" in width and 12" in height. It contains thirty-two lines, of which 128 are written horizontally over the whole breadth of the plate, and record the original grant by Soma-varman, whose signature is engraved vertically in the centre of the proper right margin. The addition by his successor Asata commences from the end of line 28 and is continued along the lower proper left and upper margins ending in the proper right margin near the first *aksara* of Soma-varman's subscription. After his name that of Asata is engraved.

The upper proper left corner of the plate is broken, causing the loss of about five *aksaras* at the end of line 30 and of about three *aksaras* at the beginning of line 31. In the upper proper right corner also a small piece is missing. Here two *aksaras* have become damaged but are still legible. Otherwise the inscription is well preserved. Its execution leaves nothing to be desired. The average size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{8}$ ".

The grant is composed in prose, except two imprecatory verses in the *Puspitagra* and *Mahā* metres at the beginning one in the *Saṅkalāṅkita* metre in the middle, and four *ślokas* (*Amṛtābh*) regarding the *danda* at the end. The insertion of a verse in the middle and in continuation of the prose though common enough in literature is unusual in a title deed. 'From a grammatical point of view,' Professor Kielhorn remarks 'I may draw attention to the employment of the instrumental case *Sukṣavareṇa* in line 27 instead of the locative *Sukṣavare* and to the position of the numeral in *dhūmasaka catuṣṣam*, line 29, and in *deva dvayak*, line 30 which is not uncommon in Sanskrit inscriptions of the middle ages. The Sanskrit of the genealogical part of the inscription, up to line 13 is unobjectionable.'

As regards orthography Professor Kielhorn draws attention to the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant in *Kuluteśvara* and *sukhinh* (l. 5), *Sri* (l. 8), *ascasvathā* (l. 11) and *prameśvara* (l. 12). the employment of the guttural nasal instead of the *anusvara* in *varṣa* (l. 24), and the fact that *hu* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *ra*. I may add that we find *ra* for *ṛ* in *ritiyagam* (l. 27) and that the nasal is used instead of *anusvara* in *śayanibhū* (l. 1) *sandhukṣita* (l. 4) *sandhanasya* (l. 4) and *sanniyuktā* (l. 14).

The inscription, as stated above opens with two benedictory verses, the first of which occurs also in the grant of Soma-varman (No. 24 ll. 12), whilst the second will be found again in that of Asata (No. 26, ll. 12). In some respects the two readings differ in spelling. The first stanza recurs also in a very corrupt form in the Sālū fountain inscription (No. 33 l. 1). The next eight lines (8-20) contain with some slight modifications, the same eulogy of Sālū, the ancestor

of the donor of the grant as we have noticed in Somavarma's title deed (No 21 ll 2 11). This has enabled us to restore missing words or syllables and to correct mistakes in both the corresponding passages.

A point of special interest is that in the present grant mention is made of a victory gained by Sahila over the Turusks. Professor Kielhorn conjectures that this refers to the repulse of one of Sultan Mahmud's invasions at the beginning of the 11th century. As, however, according to the *Parivraṭa* Sahila is separated from Asata by five reigns to which probably those of Sarvabana and Somavarma are to be added, he can hardly have been a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni. Unfortunately the term 'Turuska' is not only used to denote the Turks but like 'Saka' and 'Yavana', it designates any race of foreign invaders. Kalhana calls even the Sevthian Kamshka a Turuska. It is quite possible that the Turuskas defeated by Sahila were merely foreign mercenaries employed by one of the neighbouring hill chiefs. Kalhana speaks of Turuska centurions (*Turuskasota dhika*) in the service of King Harsa of Kashmir and of Turuska allies which the latter's grandson Bhuticara employed in an expedition against Sussala who defeated them near Pūṭh (Parnots) in the month of Vaisakha A.D. 1121.

The praise bestowed on the donor himself is less elaborate than in the corresponding passage of Somavarma's grant. The high flown expressions used are partly identical. It will be seen that Somavarma is the donor of the grant but that the charter was issued after he had been succeeded by his brother Asata, in the first year of whose reign it is dated.

The following passage (ll 13 15) in which the donor enumerates his officials and exhorts them to observe the grant also occurs with certain modifications in the title deed of Vidagdha (No 10, ll 6 11) and in that of Asata (No 26 ll 7 10). In the next 6 lines (16 21) the situation of the granted lands is described. In each case we find the names of the district (Skt. *mandala*) of the village and of the previous landholder. In some cases a name is added which apparently indicates the land itself. In the grants of Yugalra (No 14) and Vidagdha (No 15) also the fields are designated by special names, according to a custom still prevalent in Chamba. The villages which can nearly all be identified are situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital and belong to three different *mandalas* the position of which can approximately be fixed from that of the villages.

Among the persons who enjoyed the lands at the time when the grant was made we find in the first place the Queen mother Rardhi. From the wording of the title deed (*bhuyamāna* i.e. *bhūyamāna* is the present participle of the passive voice¹⁾) we may infer that she was still alive at the time of the donation and consequently had survived her husband Sarvabana. From the Devanagiri fountain inscription (No 32) it is evident that the custom of *sati* prevailed among the noble families of Chamba but was not universally practised. Queen Rardhi possessed a *jugi*, indicated by the name of Kuloti out of which she granted four *bhū* of land, thus participating in the donation of her two sons. It will be seen in the sequel

¹⁾ *22 July VII 1119* and *Skt. Vol I p 3* and *VIII 95* and *919* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

On the right side above pp 11 f

that she was the founder of one of the two temples to which the grant was made. This accounts for her liberality. The position of Kuloti is uncertain. A charter of Raja Sunggram Varman, dated Śastar 22 (A.D. 1446) contains the name of a village called Kulot but without any particulars regarding its situation. In a copper plate grant of Raja Balabhadra dated Śastar 68, Vikrama 1649 (A.D. 1592) mention is made of Kulot *dhaga* i.e. 'precipice' near the village of Lakshah in the *Saho pargana*.

The next landholder mentioned in our inscription is the cook (*supahara*) Sarambhata. We may safely assume that he was the cook of the royal household. Among the numerous grants of Raja Balabhadra is one dated Vikrama 1697, Śastar 16 (A.D. 1640/1) which records the donation of the village of Ktahnua in the *Saho pargana* to the cook (*supahara*) Visnu sarma. I may add that up to the present day the Raja's cook is a Brahman.

The land granted in the village of Vatra was in the possession not of an individual but of the members of a committee (*gosthika* from *gostha*). The term *chennucala* by which these *gosthikas* are indicated I cannot explain. Possibly it denotes some locality. The next landholder Vijjula is called Bhadravikasya i.e. a slave of Bhadravalasa the modern Bhadravali. This hill tract belongs at present to the Jammu & Kashmir State. Among the remaining five landholders two bear the designation *astapaharika*. This word is not found in Sanskrit literature, but there can be little doubt that it denotes eight watchmen attached to the temple of Lakṣmi Narayan the chief sanctuary of Chamba. The word *paharika* is evidently derived from *Shi prahara* (Hindi *pah*) meaning 'a watch of three hours'. The expression *depahe* for 'noon' (literally 'two watches' i.e. six hours after G.M.) is well known. The word *astapaharika* is not formed according to the rules of Sanskrit etymology. The correct *vrddhi* form from *pahara* would be *paharika*. This is also borne out by the fact that its modern derivative is *pahari* a word used in Chamba to denote a watchman, either of a temple or some other building. It is synonymous with the Urdu word *carikdar* (Anglo-Indice *chowkdar*). At present one *pahari* and four *paharis* are attached to the temple of Lakṣmi Narayan. In a charter of Balabhadra dated Vikrama 1664 Śastar 83 (A.D. 1607) mention is made of these watchmen as *Sri Narayana de pahari* (111). Professor Knelson has drawn attention to the fact that here as well as in the concluding portion of the inscription the landholders are sometimes not called by their own proper names but described as the sons of their respective fathers. The same peculiarity may be noticed in Yugakma's grant (No. 14).

The total area of land granted is stated to be 15 *bhu*. It is clear that *bhu* is a superficial measure divided into four *bhumasakas*. In the grants of Vidagdha (No. 15), Soma-varman (No. 24) and Asata (No. 26) also we find the area of the land expressed in *bhu* or *bhum*. In that of Yugakma on the other hand, the extent of the granted land is expressed in a measure of capacity—the *pitāla* (modern *pira*)—according to the usage of the Hills. We may compare with *bhu* the English word "acre" which originally must have meant 'a field' as appears from German

Acker and Latin *ager* As to the exact value of 1 *bhu*, I may note that the land, granted in Āsata's charter, which is stated to be 1 *bhu* 6 *masala*, in other words 21 *bhu* 1 as an area of 14 *lahri* or 42 acres from which it would follow that 1 *bhu* corresponds with nearly 5½ *lahris* or nearly 17 acres.

In addition to the 15 *bhu* of land detailed the donor granted annually one *lahri* of grain from the store house (*losthagars*) of Bhadravarman the modern Bhadram. This store house was no doubt the building in which the revenue in kind was collected and would therefore correspond to the State *bothi* found at the head quarters of each *parjara* and used not only as a residence for the State officials but until recent years also for the storage of the grain paid as revenue. The custom of paying revenue in kind has been abolished since A.D. 1863 but the large wooden grain vessels called *lahjals* may still be seen in many of the *bothis*.

Lines 21-23 contain particulars regarding the donees of Somavarmas grant. It is to be regretted that in the midst of his plausible statement the author of the title deed was suddenly seized with poetical inspiration which considerably impaired the lucidity of this passage. Thus much is clear that the total grant is divided into two very unequal portions. One portion consisting of only half a *bhu* is given to a Vishnu temple founded by order of the illustrious Pisata. Professor Kielhorn proposed to read *Sri Asata* but to this emendation there seem to me to be serious objections though at first I felt inclined to adopt it. First of all it will be seen that the *asata pa* which was doubtful in Professor Kielhorn's rubbings, is quite distinct in the original. Supposing that the engraver had really substituted *pa* for *a* it can hardly be believed that such a mistake in a personal name would not have been corrected at the same time as other corrections were made. By reading *Sri Jata* we should moreover have to assume that the author of the inscription had made a serious mistake in *sam* *He* by allowing the *hiatus* to stand. Finally we notice that Sri Pisata is called *maharajaputra*, so that he can hardly be identical with Asata who was the ruling Raja at the time when the charter was issued. We shall therefore have to admit the existence of a Pisata but it is impossible to say in what relationship he stood to the donor. The Vishnu temple founded by him seems to have disappeared. Judging from the smallness of the grant it cannot have been a very important shrine.

The remaining 14½ *bhu* of land together with the annual *lahri* of grain were bestowed on two other temples one of the Lord Hari (i.e. Vishnu) founded by Lal Smaravarmā and the other dedicated to Śiva by Queen Raddhi apparently for the benefit of Silaharavarmā. The first mentioned shrine is undoubtedly the temple of Hari Rū near the Craggy Gate which still enjoys part of the grant. Regarding its founder, Lal Smaravarmā, nothing is known, but we may assume that he was a member of the ruling house. In any case, it is very probable that the Hari Pū temple was built shortly before the grant was made. The tradition that it dates back to a period anterior to the foundation of Chamba by Silaharavarmā, therefore have to be rejected. Professor Kielhorn is no doubt right in identifying Silaharavarmā with Śaharāvaśarmā the father of the donor. The fact that Raddhi

¹ Smaller of 1 for 10 in grain calculation. The contents of 10 *lahris* of grain = 1 *bhu* 6 *masala* = 21 *bhu* 1 as.

built a Śiva temple in his memory is conclusive proof that she did not become *sati* after his death¹. The temple in question is no longer extant. At least none of the three chief Śiva temples of Chamba town—namely, Candāgupt Gaunī-Śnkaī and Tīmukh—has any tradition regarding Salavahana and his queen Raidhī. In view of the above Professor Kjelhorn's conjecture that the two gods were worshipped in the same temple and that this temple was probably that of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇ cannot be upheld. It is curious that at the present time Harī Rai shares the grant with Campavatī the eponymous goddess of Chamba. In what manner a part of the donation has become transferred to this temple it is impossible to decide.

Lines 24-27 contain four *śloka*s of the usual type, in which the sanctity of the donation is emphasized and its confiscation denounced as the blackest of crimes. In line 27 the date is given as the first year of the reign of Āśata the month of Vaiśākha the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight Friday.

The Great Recordkeeper (*mahakṣapatalika*) Kabuka mentioned as messenger² of the charter, is perhaps identical with the Rajanaka Kabula whose name occurs with the same designation and in the same connection at the end of Soma Varman's plate (No. 24.1.20). In the same manner we find the names Partuka and Patala used to denote the same person in the Saibau well inscription³ in the Delhi Museum (Cat. No. B. 6). The *kayasthas* Śivapa and Manna by whom the charter was written are mentioned again in line 32. They were also the writers of Asata's grant (No. 26.1.21).

After the formula *śiḥ śubhāṃ* which marks the end of the original document we find a few lines added in the 11th year evidently of Asata's reign the month of Bhādrapada the 12th day of the bright fortnight. The name of the day of the week is lost except the initials. This addition is written in a less careful manner than the original grant and contains several mistakes, which to a certain extent obscure its meaning. It records a change in the original donation as regards the *bhū* of land in the village of Mangala (modern Mangla) in the Paṭakamata *mandala*. It also records an additional grant of one *bhū* of land to a temple (it is not clear which) apparently for the special purpose of rewarding the services of the eight watchmen (*astaprahārīka*) above mentioned. In the right hand margin we find the signatures of both the original donor Soma Varman and of the ruling chief Rāja Āśata.

TEXT

श्री नमश्चिवाय । जयति भुवन कारण(ण) स्वयभूर्जयति पुरन्दर नन्दनी मुरारि [1*]
जयति गिरिसुता निरुह देहो दुरित भयापहरो हर (1 2) च देव ॥ जयति जनमनिष्टादुहरन्ती
भवानी जयति निज विभूति व्यास विश्व५ पुरारि [1*] जयति च गजवक्त्रो च यस्य प्रसादादु
परमर्ति (1 3) ममस्ती विन्न भर्मापसर्ग ॥ श्री चण्डका वासकाचरम ब्रह्मस्थो ललाट नट
चटित विकट भुकुटि* प्रकट कुटित कटक मौसटिक कृत-मानाथ्य दुर्ग (1 4) श्यर समीर सन्धुचित

¹ The local tradition is that the temple of Radha Kṛṣṇa built in 1800 by Rām Saṁdā the widow of Rāja Jit Singh was a woman. Cf. above p. 103.

² Cf. *J. P. Ind.* Vol. I p. 30.

³ No. 26.1.21 has *paśama*.

⁴ I read first *bhūt* with Prof. Kjelhorn. The *śloka śāhī* however occurs in No. 12.1.9 and the *śloka śāhī*.

कोर बल बलवद्वारागुणलक्षण ज्ञान ज्ञपण न(न)व जलधरस्य । दण्डोपनत विगताधिपातुनय प्रार्थित
मन्त्रान्वय । सवा विधि व्यग्र (1 0) स्वकुल्य कुलतस्त(श्र)र कर्म व्यतिहार प्रार्थमान राज्यत्व(पे)
ण प्रमादस्य । समर भर भग्नकरणाकृष्ण तुरुष्क विपुल बल विगल भा(श्री)श्विन कुशवेव राहूपरा
(1 6) ग ममय समधि(पि)त मद गन्ध लुब्ध मधुकर कुलाकुल कपोल फलक करि घटा दान
प्रीति प्रमत्त मानस भगवद्वाक्कराभिनन्दित निजान्वय प्रसूति (1 7) परम्परा नार करिविधा भिधा
नाभ्युदयस्य तत्काल मिलित निखिल महीशाल मुख मयी यो कृत्रिका कोति सुगमित मम भुवनाभो
गम्य निरतिश्र (1 8) य शायोदयाग्राध गाम्भीर्य सयादा दया दाजिग्य वलकस्य जजरित जामद
ग्न्य ताम(शि)वि कर्ण युधिष्ठिरादि प्रवर प्रसिद्ध दशन सफलित लो (1 9) क लाचन मनोरम सूर्ति
(त्तर)भगवच्छ्री गुरुक स्वासि देव प्रख्याप्यमानालन्य सामान्य स्फार स्फुरदुक्त भाहल्य समर सज्ज सवि
धान कोपार्जित (1 10) साहसाङ्ग निगहमन्न मटमटमिधा(हा)द्यापर पर्यायस्य । पा(सौ)पण
वे(बा)श्र भूयण सहामण श्रीमत्वाङ्गिल दवस्य । निर्मले कल तिल (1 11) क मृत निगवथ विद्या
विनाद रस रमिक अस्त(शे)प सा(श)त्वाथ परिमलाधिवासित मानस विवर्कैक मरा राजहम अग
णिल विमल गुण गणालङ्घ (1 12) त सूर्ति विभुवन भवन विकु(च्छ)रित कीर्ति परमभट्टारक
सहाराजाधिराज परमस्व(श्र)र श्रीमत्पालवान्न देव पादातुध्यात परमभट्टारिका महाराज्ञो श्री रत्ना
(1 13) देवो कुलि लीरनीरनिधि-सुधादीधिति परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमश्वर श्रीमत्पा
मवम दवX कुशली सर्वानिव नियोगस्थान राज राजानक राज(जा) (1 14) मातृ राजा(न)
पुत्र परिकर सन्नियुक्त विनियुक्त दूत गसागमिक(का) भित्तरमान्य(ण) स्वश कलिक शौन्मिक
गौत्मिक-खड्गवत्तरपति वीरगात्रिक चीरो (1 15) हरणिक दण्डिक दण्डवामिक वाङ्मण जविय
विटकू(शू)द्रादिगा(सा)टादश प्रकृतीX प्रातर्वाभि जनपदाथ समान्नापयत्यस्तु वक्षविदिन यथा
स्वशान्तमान प्र(ज)वा (1 16) भोग पाथिल सण्डल प्रतिवह महाराज्ञी श्री रत्ना देव्या मुच्य(त्य)
मान^१ कुलाटी सक्त भूमयथतल तथा मुङ्गले स्पकार सुरभट स्थिता(तमा)नीत भूमि हय । तथा
(1 17) वाटाया क्षौत्रेक गौष्टिक स्थिता(तमा)सीत् भूमि हय तथा तावसक भगडल प्रतिवह
भद्रवर्मे भद्रावकाशोय विजौल स्थितासीत भूरका । तथा मराहुने (1 18) भद्रवसन्त स्थितासी
द्वूमिरका तथा दान्यक छप्रहारिक देव भुत सक्त लर्तुक भूमीहय तथात्रैव द्वितीयादप्रहारिक
रामज्यय^२ सुत सक्त जौटक भू हय तथा पारे(र) (1 19) कसट^३ मण्डल प्रतिवह मङ्गल दौष्टिकाया
लुङ्ग(त्य)क सुत^४ सक्त भूमापक दय तथाहु^५ति^६क सुत सक्त भूमापक दयसुभा(मे)सगुह भूरकाइत
कुलाटी भू ४ मुङ्गल भू २ वाटाया (1 २०) भू २ भद्रवस भू १ मराहुल भू १ दान्यकी भू ४ मङ्गल भू १
एव भू १४ एव पृव प्रसिद्ध भुक्ति प्रमाणन स्व भोमा दण गाग्रयो (गम्युति) गोचर पर्यन्त न खिलो
प्रखिल न निगम प्रवश (1 २१) स वनस्पत्यदक गृह शाकवाटिका हजाराभ विद्यामोपेत तथा

Prof Kellera reads : Took a a m n tiale a l l
 1 P r i n e s e n
 P f i n e s e n d s [a n] l e d d e p o r t (s) l a
 The word k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 P r f l e o n r o p o s t o r e d e f a t r a d h o g e a n d c o n p a s t h e e x s o n c l e r l e g a n t e n t a n
 Ind in Vol VIII p 141
 2 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 3 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 4 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 5 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 6 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 In the 11th and 12th centuries Parashara
 1 Kellera reads f a t r a d h o g e a n d c o n p a s t h e e x s o n c l e r l e g a n t e n t a n
 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 2 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 3 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 4 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 5 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e
 6 Prof Kellera reads k e n t r e y s s r i t e s c l o w t h e l i n e

भद्रवर्म कोष्ठागागतिवर्ष धान्य स्वायकाङ्कत धान्य खा १ अतो मध्यात्पारकमट मङ्गल मार्गाल्लु
 शुक स (1 22) तीय भूमायका इयमवैव सञ्चारक पुत्र श्री पासटस्योद्देशेन^१ प्रतिष्ठापित भगवद्विष्णवे
 अग्रहारत्वे इति प्रतिपादित पान्थ(अन्व) मू १४ मा २ धान्य खा १ आचन्द्राकमत्ता (1 23)
 ऋष्यसहायमनुपद्वयम अग्रहारतया तीय सुतुकापूर पूर्वक । श्रीमन्नस्त्रगवर्मणशुभवद प्राग्ये (स्यो)
 विभुयो हरिभ्यो सान्नाकरवर्मणे च शिव कृद्वाणार्चतो य (1 24) शिव [1*] देव्यास्मिन्पर भक्ति भावि
 तधिया श्री रक्षया स्थापितस्नाभ्या दत्तमिद मया ननु जनैस्त्वैरनुज्ञायताम् । तथा च व्यास भाषितम्
 [1*] अस्मिन्वडशे(त्वशे) सुविस्तीर्णे यX क (1 25) शिवपतिर्मवत् [1*] तस्याह हस्त लनी
 स्मि शसन मा व्यतिक्रम । पालनात्परमो धर्त्X पालनात्परम तप [1*] पालनात्परमैश्वर्ये
 मरीयस्तान् पालनम् ॥ अन्यायेन (1 26) हता भूमिरन्यायेन तु चारिता । हरन्तातो^२ हारयन्त
 (त)श्च दहत्यासप्तम् कुलम् तडाकाना(गाना) सङ्गमेण अ(चा)यमध शनेन च । गवा कोटि
 प्रदानेन भूमि हर्ता (1 27) न गृह्(व्य)ति ॥ प्रवर्धमान कन्याण विजय राज्ये श्रीमदासटदेपिये
 सवस्त्रे प्रथमे वैशाख सित त्रि(तृ)तीयाया^३ शुक्लवारण पट्टमिद सपादि (1 28) तम् [1*] इतो च
 सञ्चारपटलिक श्री काङ्क निखिनमिद कर्णकायस्थ-शिवप मन्त्राभ्याम^४ ॥ इति शुभम् [1*] अत्र
 पुनरपि लिख्यते [1*] यद्योपनि (1 29) लिखित पारकमट मङ्गल भूमायक दा (च)तुर्णा परिवर्ते
 तत्रैव सवायका सुताना^५ सक्त भूमाय(प)कायत्वार (1 30) अङ्कत भू मा ४ अग्रहारत्वे विभासी
 देवद्वयो घन(पुन?) सवत् ११ भाद्रपद शु ति १२ स — — — — (1 31) —
 — — वर दत्त पान्थिल मण्डल-प्रतिबद्ध बलहणे सहैन्द्रक पो(पो)च भक्तिक^६ सुत सक्त भूरकाङ्कतो
 भू १ अष्टप्रह(हा)रिक सव(सवा)र्थे चे(चै)व दे(द)वट्टे प्रतिप(पा)दिता । प्राङ्गे (गि)ल्लित
 क्रम(मे)ण पालन[यम् ॥] (1 32) [लि]खित शिवप मन्त्राभ्यामेव^७ ॥(1)
 श्रीमत्सोमवर्म देव स्वहन् [] ॥ श्रीमदासट देव स्वहन् [1*]

TRANSLATION

Reverence to Siva Victorious is the Cause of the world the Self-existent (Brahma) Victorious is the son of the Destroyer of castles (Kṣaṇa) the Enemy of Māra Victorious is he, whose body is held by the Mountain daughter (Durga) he who removes distress and danger—Hara the god Victorious is she who saves mankind from misfortune—Bhavana (Durga) Victorious is he who with his splendour has pervaded the universe the Toe of the castles (Siva) Victorious also is the elephant-faced one—he by whose favour the whole calamity of a host of obstacles ceases (Ganeśa)

(L 3) From his residence at the glorious Candaka the highly devout [king Soma varman] who is an ornament of the spotless house of the illustrious Sahila of divine descent—that great jewel adorning the race of Maṣaṇ^१—who (Sahila)

^१ See above p. 101

Read *net kran t*

^२ Prof. Kellon read *[?] na ara* The first *taṭṭa* is however a *śūdrā* bled by *tr* and *hr* stands for *ra* as in *tra* (No. 24 l. 21)

Prof. Kellon reads *l* compound *na Paṇa a lvan* Cf. however *Maṇa D* *raṇa* *naṭṭa* *naṭṭa* *naṭṭa* *naṭṭa* in No. 96 l. 21

^३ *Sava n kṣaṇa* *naṭṭa* *naṭṭa* Prof. Kellon's transposition

^४ Another explanation is to read *paṇa* *naṭṭa* as *Paṇa* *naṭṭa* as Prof. Kellon conjectures.

^५ Prof. Kellon reads *Maṇa* *naṭṭa*

^६ See note 1

^७ See p. 181 n. 11

was a fresh rain cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kira forces fanned, as by the wind by the Lord of Dugira, assisted by the Saumatikas whose camp was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown produced on the slope of his (Sahilla's) forehead whose (Sahilla's) alliance was humbly sought by the rule of Dugaita subdued by force, who (Sahilla) was asked the favour of bestowing royalty in return of services by his kinsman the Lord of Kuluta anxious to render him homage who (Sahilla) by the weight of battle had broken like a wide spreading tree, the large force of the Turuskas, on whom wounds had been inflicted, who (Sahilla) had the fortunate name of Karmarsa (Elephant iron) on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity joyfully granted by the Lord Bhiskara (the Sun god) whose mind was contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants, whose flat cheeks were covered by a swarm of bees attracted by the scent of the rut-secretion, and which were bestowed in Kuruksetra at the time of an eclipse, who (Sahilla) has made the enout of the seven worlds fra-grant by his fame [printed] with the red bushes which were the mouths of all the princes assembled (at Kuruksetra) on that occasion (the solar eclipse), who (Sahilla) by his unequalled kindness and compassion combined with unsurpassed bravery, generosity, and unfathomable profoundness has impured the fame of J madagnis son (Parsuama), Sibi Karna, Yudhishthira and such like heroes, by looking upon whose (Sahilla's) lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful, whose (Sahilla's) widespread greatness brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence was renowned like [that of] the lord, the illustrious Sudrakasamin of divine descent, who (Sahilla) by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles had acquired such names as Sahasanka (Marled by rashness), Nisankamallā (the dauntless Wrestler) and Matamata simha (the roaring Lion)

(L 11) [King Soma-varman] who delights in passing his time in attaining faultless knowledge, whose mind is perfumed by the fragrance of every science, the royal swan of the only lake of discrimination whose form is adorned with an innumerable number of spotless virtues, whose fame is strewn over the dwellings of the three worlds he who reverently remembers the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord the illustrious Salayabana of divine descent and was born from the womb of the supreme princess, the queen the illustrious Radha of divine descent, even as the Moon was born from the Milk ocean he, the supreme prince the king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Soma varman of divine descent, the prosperous one,

(L 13) enjoins on all the officials, every *rāja rāna* royal minister, *rajput* those appointed and commissioned of [the Rājas] attendants (?) even *dita*, *janu gamita abhivaramana* Khresā Kulil a superintendent of customs (?), superintendent of forests (?), sword-guard (?), *tarapati*, those belonging to the expeditionary force (?) even 'thief-catcher,' 'rod bearer,' 'rod and rope bearer' *brahmana* *Isakīya varīya*, *Sūdra*, and all others that constitute the eighteen elements of the State and the neighbouring country people

(L 15) Be it known unto you that within the domain under our sway in the Pantlula district there are four *bhumi* of land belonging to Kuloti enjoyed by the queen, the illustrious Rardha of divine descent, and at Mungala two *bhumi* belonging to the cook Surambhata, and at Vata there are two *bhumi* belonging to the *Chonnerala goshtika*, and in the Javakri district at Bhadiavama there was one *bhu* held by Vijjula of Bhadiavah, and at Sarahula there was one *bhu* held by Bhatta Vasanta and at Dhalyala two *bhumi* in Lutthuka which belong to the watchman the son of Denna and in the same village two *bhu* in Jandhaka, belonging to the second watchman, the son of Ramañjya, and in the Parakamata district at Mangala in Dhanlika two *bhumāsaka* belonging to the son of Lutthuka and two *bhumāsaka* belonging to the son of Humtika, both together making one *bhu*. In figures of Kuloti 4 *bhu*, at Mungala 2 *bhu* at Vata 2 *bhu*, at Bhadiavama 1 *bhu* at Sarahula 1 *bhu*, at Dhalyala 4 *bhu* at Mangala 1 *bhu*, thus 15 *bhu*, thus on the previously established terms of occupancy, as far as then limits, grass, grazing and pasture ground with fallow land large and small with ingress and egress, with fruit-trees and water together with houses, kitchen-gardens, orchards, and resting-places, also from the storehouse of Bhadiavama annually one *khari* of grain, in figure 1 *lha* of grain. Out of these [*lands*] the two *bhumāsaka* of the son of Lutthuka on the road to Mangala in Parakamata are bestowed as an *agrahara* on the Lord Visnu, founded here by order of the illustrious Pasata the son of the *Maharāja*. The remaining 14 *bhu* 2 *mu* and 1 *bhu* of grain are granted by me for as long as moon and sun shall endure, unentailable, unalienable, unopposed, as an *agrahara* by a formal libation of water,

(L 23) to the Lord Hari (Visnu) who is renowned by the auspicious name of the illustrious Laksmara varman, and to Śiva who, praised with music has blessed the illustrious Śalalala varman and has been established by the illustrious queen Rardha, whose mind possessed highest devotion to him. Let then all people approve it.

(L 24) And this has been spoken by Vvasi. "Whosoever of this wide-spread race may be king, I enjoin on him not to transgress [this] order. By [its] observance the highest religious merit, by [its] observance the highest ascetic merit by [its] observance the highest sovereignty [will be attained], [its] observance is therefore very important. The land which is unlawfully confiscated or unlawfully caused to be confiscated consumes up to the seventh generation of him who confiscates it and of him who causes it to be confiscated. He who takes away the land is not cleansed by [the digging of] a thousand tanks, by a hundred horse-oblations and by a gift of ten million cows."

(L 27) In the increasing, fortunate reign of victory, in the first year of the illustrious Āsita of divine descent, on the third day of the bright fortnight of [the month of] Vaisāha, on 1 ridy has this plate been presented. The messenger on this occasion was the Great Recordkeeper, the illustrious Kahuka. This was written by the writers of legal documents Śivapri and Manna. May it be blessed!

(L 28) Here again is written that, in exchange for the four *bhumāsaka* of Mangala in Parakamata, four, in figures 4, *bhumāsaka*, belonging to the sons of Savayika, are given as an *agrahara* in apporportionment (?) to the two gods. In the

year 11 [the month of] Bhādrapada, the bright fortnight the 13th day 12

One in figures 1, *ihu* belonging to the son of Matika, the grandson of Mahendrika in Ghilabana situated in the Panchula district is granted for the service of the witchmen in the same temple to be observed in the previously described manner

(L 32) Written by the same Sivapa and Munna Own sign manual of the illustrious Somavaman of divine descent Own sign manual of the illustrious Āsata of divine descent

NO 26—THUNDHU COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF ĀSATA

(PLATE XXVI)

This grant of Rupa Āsata came to my notice in the summer of 1902 and was preliminarily edited by me with the other four Chamba copper plate inscriptions of the pre Muhammadan period¹ It belongs to a Brahmin of the name of Jasu who lives in the village of Thundhu at the head of the Hol valley in the Hol Gidhni *paragana* It is doubtful whether the lands now held by the owner of the plate are those described in the charter On a visit to the spot I could not identify any of the localities mentioned in connection with the donation Those lands are no longer regarded as a *sasan* as the owner has to pay the ordinary revenue It is a curious circumstance that Jasu claims to belong to the Bhairavja *gotra* whereas the original donee was a Brahmin of the Kṛṣṇapa *gotra* so that it may rightly be doubted whether he is a descendant of the latter The plate is now preserved in the Chamba State Museum (Cat No B, 6)

The copper plate on which Āsata's grant is engraved measures 9½ in height and 13½ in width, including a short handle to the proper right It is pierced with a round hole which is probably meant to hang the plate on the wall It may be noticed here that none of the copper plates found in Chamba are provided with a seal The inscription consists of 21 lines besides the signature of the donor written in the proper right margin The average size of the letter is from 1½ to 2

The inscription is engraved with great care and the lettering is distinct throughout Yet the number of blunders is very considerable They consist mostly of the substitution of *alvars* closely resembling the intended ones Such mistakes are *vijuna* (l 1) for *vijula* *sun* (l 3) for *gita* *gaj gan la* (l 5) for *gami* *gan la* *blitarawana* (l 9) for *blitarawana* *saulmika* (l 9) for *saulmika* *sapajapayata* (l 10) for *samajapayata* *yadha* (l 10) for *yatha* *tabha* (l 12) for *tabha* *socata* (l 13) for *gocata* *vanapsaty* (ll 13 14) for *vanapsaty* *palarit* *manamo* (l 19) for *palanai* *parama* *n* (l 19) for *ca* *gagayas* (l 20) for *gagayas* *ala* (l 21) for *ala* *Tisarga* (or *sin* l 5) and *anuvana* have been omitted in *ra* *sariditani* (l 16), *anuvana* in *vanapsaty* *alata* (ll 13 14) The top stroke has been left out in *sarvata* *aparilikhata* (l 16) and the *a* stroke in *Sivapabhyam* (l 21) We may perhaps assume that the engraver had to execute the plate from an indistinct copy which would account for so great a number of blunders When comparing this grant with the previous one (No 25), we notice that in the present

case the writing is much more cursive. This is especially noticeable in the shape of *ja*. The short *z* stroke used in this inscription deserves special notice.

Mistakes of a different kind are those resulting from an imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit on the part of the author of the inscription. They are on the whole similar in nature to those noticed in the other four grants of the pre-Muhammadan period. *Sandhi* rules are generally treated with great levity. Thus we find *varadhita alalanah* (l. 6) *savanneve* (l. 7), *camodharanika* (l. 9), *vīśa arama* (l. 14) and *agrabharatve ite* (l. 16). Interchange of sibilants is found in *kusali* (l. 7) for *kusali*, *sasyomana* (l. 11) for *sasyamana*, *Vyasa* (l. 17) for *Vyasa*. In *jala kutaka* (l. 10) *sa* has been substituted for *cu*. We find *vi* instead of *i* in *trina* (l. 18) and *n* instead of *u* in *Dhananjaya* (l. 15). In *Ihandaraksa* (l. 9) and *virajatilaka* (l. 9) we notice the influence of the vernacular words *khandu* (from *Śākhadga*) and *ratia* (from *Śākhayatra*).

The charter opens with a stanza in the *Māhār* metre the same as is found at the beginning of the previous grant (No. 20, ll. 2-3). We notice that *uparimati* has been substituted for *uparimati*. The eulogy of the donor (ll. 2-6) is partly identical with the corresponding passage in Somavarman's grant (No. 24, ll. 11-18) but less extensive. The following portion (ll. 7-10) in which the officials are enumerated who will have to observe the Rājā's grant agrees closely with the list of officials found in the charters of Viśadha (No. 15, ll. 6-11) and in that of Somavarman and Asata (No. 25 ll. 13-15).

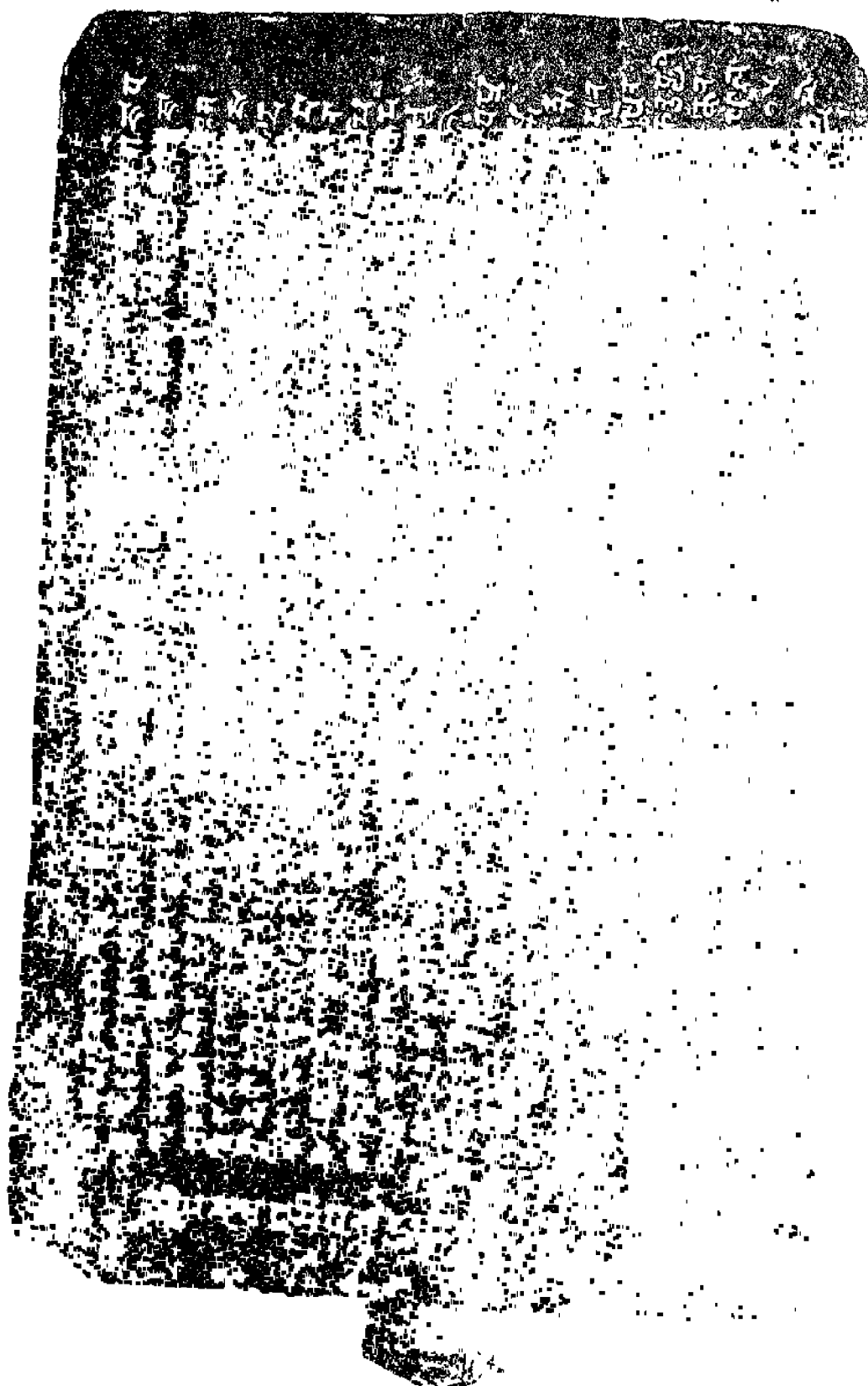
The Bhattara *mandala* in which the granted lands are said to be situated, corresponds perhaps with the Hol-Gudhyal *parāṇa*. The other localities, called Dūhma and Vāṇṇilika (l. 12), I have not been able to identify. They are probably fields; it will be noticed that no village is mentioned. As usual in these charters, the lands are indicated by the names of the last holders. The name of the donee, Māra the son of Purnaraja and grandson of Dharañjaya is found in line 15. In lines 19-20 one *śloka* is quoted from Vjasa in corroboration of the grant. The date is the 6th year of the reign of Āsata. The messenger is the Recorder Bhurana-pala, and the writers are the *kavasthas* Manna and Śivapa (here called the son of Devapa)—the same whose names we have twice met with in the grant of Somavarman and Asata (No. 25 ll. 28 and 32).

TEXT

श्री जयति जनमन्त्रिष्टाद्वरस्तो भवान् श्री जयति निज विभूति व्याघ्र(स)¹ विश्व × पुरारि (1*)
जयति च गजव (l. 2) क्षन्ति च यन्मप्रसादादुपशसति ममस्तो विज वगापसर्ग ॥ श्री चरणका वाम
आत्परम ब्रह्मन्थी देव द्विज (l. 3) ग(ग)र पूजनाभिरतो दीनान्ध क्षयणानाथ वत्सल अगणित गुण
गणालङ्कृत भूति विविकैक वसति श (l. 4) शधर कर निकरावदात यश × प्रभर प्रकाशित-सर्वांग
पो(मो)पण कुलक निजक परमभद्ररक महाराजा (l. 5) धिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमत्मानवाहन दव
पादातुत्वात परमभद्रारिका महाराज्ञो श्री रत्न दे (l. 6) व्यो (व्यु) दनोदधि विवर्षित अकलङ्क परम-
भद्ररक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमदा (l. 7) सट देव × कुव(श)ली समुपायानान सर्वाङ्गे(नि)व

¹ A parallel grant of this was written in 1831 and was noted into *pr*.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20



SCALE 0-10

नियोगस्थान राज राजानक-राजपुत्र रा (1 8) कामाल्य-ब्राह्मण चप्रिय विट शूद्र-राजम्यानीय परि
कर सनियुक्तक विनियुक्तक दूत गपा(मा)गमि (1 9) क(का)भित्तरशान(माण) खड्ग कुलिक-शोक्ति
(क्कि)क गौल्लिक खण्डगच तगपति वीरजा(या)त्रिक चोरोध(इ)रगिक द (1 10) गिडक दगडवा
सिकादिमाष्टादश प्रकलादीना(न) सर्वान्मपा(मा)ज्ञापयत्वस्तु व[*] म(स)विदितम् यथा(श्रा)स्व-
(1 11) मा(शा)म्यमान प(क)नाभो(मि) भट्टार मण्डल प्रतिवह चान्न मुन उडर भुच्य(ज्य)मान
स्थितासीत (1 12) दालिस सत्क भूरका वज्जिक्कि^१ सत्क भूमि मापका[*] पर त(उ)भावदत्तो
भू १ मा ६ एव पू (1 13) वैभुक्ति प्रमाणिन् स्व नीमा वि(ह)ण गोयूधी (गव्यूति) श्रो(गो)चर पर्य-
न्ता (न्त) स खिलापनिहल स वनप्प(स्स) (1 14) लुटक (क) म निर्गम प्रवेय गृह्य शाकवाटिकादि
वृक्ष आराम विश्राम यदव लयमान तत्त (1 15) वै सञ्चित काश्यप गोचाय धण(न)व्व पोचाय
पूर्णराज पुचाय ब्राह्मण-भाचाय जल गु(चु)लुक सप्रदान (1 16) पूर्वक सूर्यन्दु चित्ति स्थिति सम-
कालमयङ्कारत्वे इति प्रतिपादित(त) । सर्वे(वै)रुपरि लिखिते राजपुत्रपर (1 17) नुमन्तव्यम
एत पुत्र पोत्राव्योपभोग्यमनाचार्यमनाच्छेद्यमपरिपन्थ न किञ्चिदुपद्रवादिक(क) कर्तव्यम(1 18)
अश्वप्रदत्त ताम्र शासन प्रासास्याहसतु वासयतु भुनक्तु भोजयतु यथेष्ट चैष्ट करोतु न केन (1 19)
चित्परिपन्थना कार्या । तथा उ(व) व्याश (स) मुनिराजः पालन(स्व)रमो धर्मः पालनात्परम तप
पाल (1 20) नात्यमस्वरा गग(री)यस्तेन पालनम् ॥ प्रवर्धमान ब्राह्मण विजय राज्ये सप्त ५
आवण गु ति १५ (1 21) अ(दू)तो च आचपटलिक यी भुवनपाल लिखितमिद करण कायस्य
मन्त्र देवपालज शिवपाश्र्वम (भ्याम) [॥*]

श्रीमदास देव स्वहस्त [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Victorious is she who saves mankind from misfortune—Bhauri (Durgā)
Victorious is he who with his splendour has pervaded the universe the Toe of the
castles (Śiva) Victorious also is the Elephant faced one—he by whose favour the
whole calamity of a host of obstacles ceases (Ganeśa)

(L 2) From his residence at the glorious Canparki the highly devout [Jing
Asat] who takes delight in the worship of the deities the twice-born (the
Brahmans) and the spiritual preceptors, the friend of the distressed, the blind the
needy and the unprotected whose form is adorned with an innumerable number of
virtues, the only mode of discrimination, who by the effulgence of his glory
bright like the multitudinous beams of the H re-holder (the Moon) has illumined
all regions, the only ornament of the race of Musana,⁴ who reverently remembers
the supreme power, the king of kings the supreme lord the illustrious Sādhana
of divine descent and was reared by that other Ocean—the womb of the supreme
princess the queen, the illustrious Rādhā of divine descent but was without
spot⁵

No 1 14 has *can y lai*

No 1 14 has *lailai* ^१ which probably the scribe read as In No 1 15 we have *lailai* ^२

^२ The orig. *lailai* ^३ but I presume the *l* in the cond. *lailai* to be a mistake for *l* of
the orig. *lailai* ^४ Cf. *Diary*, p. 110

^४ I translate accord. to the proposed edition. If *lailai* ^५ the orig. *lailai* ^६ the orig.
ornament of the Solar race

^५ If it be the orig. *lailai* ^६ the orig. *lailai* ^७ the orig. *lailai* ^८ the orig. *lailai* ^९ the orig. *lailai* ^{१०} the orig. *lailai* ^{११} the orig. *lailai* ^{१२} the orig. *lailai* ^{१३} the orig. *lailai* ^{१४} the orig. *lailai* ^{१५} the orig. *lailai* ^{१६} the orig. *lailai* ^{१७} the orig. *lailai* ^{१८} the orig. *lailai* ^{१९} the orig. *lailai* ^{२०} the orig. *lailai* ^{२१} the orig. *lailai* ^{२२} the orig. *lailai* ^{२३} the orig. *lailai* ^{२४} the orig. *lailai* ^{२५} the orig. *lailai* ^{२६} the orig. *lailai* ^{२७} the orig. *lailai* ^{२८} the orig. *lailai* ^{२९} the orig. *lailai* ^{३०} the orig. *lailai* ^{३१} the orig. *lailai* ^{३२} the orig. *lailai* ^{३३} the orig. *lailai* ^{३४} the orig. *lailai* ^{३५} the orig. *lailai* ^{३६} the orig. *lailai* ^{३७} the orig. *lailai* ^{३८} the orig. *lailai* ^{३९} the orig. *lailai* ^{४०} the orig. *lailai* ^{४१} the orig. *lailai* ^{४२} the orig. *lailai* ^{४३} the orig. *lailai* ^{४४} the orig. *lailai* ^{४५} the orig. *lailai* ^{४६} the orig. *lailai* ^{४७} the orig. *lailai* ^{४८} the orig. *lailai* ^{४९} the orig. *lailai* ^{५०} the orig. *lailai* ^{५१} the orig. *lailai* ^{५२} the orig. *lailai* ^{५३} the orig. *lailai* ^{५४} the orig. *lailai* ^{५५} the orig. *lailai* ^{५६} the orig. *lailai* ^{५७} the orig. *lailai* ^{५८} the orig. *lailai* ^{५९} the orig. *lailai* ^{६०} the orig. *lailai* ^{६१} the orig. *lailai* ^{६२} the orig. *lailai* ^{६३} the orig. *lailai* ^{६४} the orig. *lailai* ^{६५} the orig. *lailai* ^{६६} the orig. *lailai* ^{६७} the orig. *lailai* ^{६८} the orig. *lailai* ^{६९} the orig. *lailai* ^{७०} the orig. *lailai* ^{७१} the orig. *lailai* ^{७२} the orig. *lailai* ^{७३} the orig. *lailai* ^{७४} the orig. *lailai* ^{७५} the orig. *lailai* ^{७६} the orig. *lailai* ^{७७} the orig. *lailai* ^{७८} the orig. *lailai* ^{७९} the orig. *lailai* ^{८०} the orig. *lailai* ^{८१} the orig. *lailai* ^{८२} the orig. *lailai* ^{८३} the orig. *lailai* ^{८४} the orig. *lailai* ^{८५} the orig. *lailai* ^{८६} the orig. *lailai* ^{८७} the orig. *lailai* ^{८८} the orig. *lailai* ^{८९} the orig. *lailai* ^{९०} the orig. *lailai* ^{९१} the orig. *lailai* ^{९२} the orig. *lailai* ^{९३} the orig. *lailai* ^{९४} the orig. *lailai* ^{९५} the orig. *lailai* ^{९६} the orig. *lailai* ^{९७} the orig. *lailai* ^{९८} the orig. *lailai* ^{९९} the orig. *lailai* ^{१००} the orig. *lailai*

(L 6) He the supreme prince, the king of ling the suprem lord, the illustrious Asata of divine descent the prosperous one, enjoins on all the officials concerned—every *raja rana raggut* royal minister *brahmana Isatirya, vaishya sudra*, chief justice, those appointed and commissioned of [the Raja's] attendants(?) every *duta gamagamila abhivaramana* Khasa, Kulika superintendent of customs (*), superintendent of forests (*) sword guard (?), *tarapata*, those belonging to the expeditionary force(?) every fish-catcher, 'rod-bearer,' 'rod-and rope bearer' and all others that constitute the eighteen elements of the State

(L 10) Be it known unto you that within the domain under our sway, in the Bhattara district there is one *bhu* of land belonging to Dalima which has been enjoyed by Uddima the son of Canma and six *bhum-masala* of Vaisipihka together figures 1 *bhu* 6 *ma* [This land] on the terms of its previous occupancy, as far as its limits grass grazing and pasture ground with fallow land large and small with fruit trees and water with ingress and egress, with houses, kitchen-gardens and so on trees gardens and resting places together with all that is attached to it has been granted as an *agrahara* to the Brahman Maca, the son of Punaraja, the grandson of Dhannarya of the house of Kasvapa, after a formal libation of a handful of water for as long a time as the sun the moon and the earth shall endure This grant is to be observed by all the above named royal officers, to be enjoyed by the succession of his sons and sons' sons inalienable uncurtailable, unobstructed Let no hindrance whatever be caused [to him] Let him on the authority of the copper charter, issued by us, live and make [others] to live enjoy and make [others] to enjoy Let him act as he pleases Let no one offer obstruction

(L 19) For thus has Vyasa the Sage spoken By the observance [of this grant] the highest religious merit by [its] observance the highest ascetic merit by [its] observance the highest heaven [will be attained], [its] observance therefore, is very important

(L 20) In the increasing fortunate reign of victory, in the year 5 [the month of] Śravana the bright fortnight the lunar day 15 The messenger on this occasion was the Record-keeper, the illustrious Bhuvana-pala This was written by the writers of legal documents Manna and Sivapa, the son of Devapa

Own sign manual of the illustrious Asata of divine descent

NO 27—SIYA FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE FIRST YEAR OF ASATA—(PLATES XXIII AND XXVII)

The carved fountain slab on which this inscription occurs came to light in the summer of 1908 It was found at a locality known by the name of Siya and situated on the ridge above Loh Tikri beyond Bharara and at a distance of some 8 miles from the Kotli Siya consists of a few houses which are only inhabited in summer by cowherds, who graze their cattle on the rich pastures of the Siya Dhar The place is believed to have been the seat of a Rana,¹ but this is not borne out by the inscription At the time of its discovery, the stone was almost entirely buried It measures 2' in height and 6' in width and is beautifully preserved

The centre of the carved surface is occupied by the squatting figure of Varuna, the god of the waters, to whom the stone was dedicated. He holds a cobra (?) in his right and a full blown lotus flower in his left hand. Beneath him we notice the well known decorative device of a pair of birds with interlaced necks. For the rest, the upper portion of the slab is carved with four horizontal bands of scroll work and the lower portion with panels containing eight-petalled lotus rosettes and other ornaments. The spout opening is also enclosed within a border of ornamental carving and the whole is surrounded by a double serpent border.

The inscription is cut on two elongated panels measuring 2 in width and 1¹/₂ in height which are placed beneath the lowermost horizontal band of scrollwork. Each of the panels contains three lines of writing. The letters are in the average from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The lettering is clearly engraved and well preserved, so that there can be little doubt about the reading except in the case of a few *alsaias* which present an uncommon appearance. The *alsaias ca dha* and *ca (ba)* are very similar to each other.

It should be noted that the tailed form of the eccialial *n* appears here for the first time. We notice also the looped *r* and the *ru* with its vowel mark attached to the top stroke. Medial *e* is expressed ten times by the *pi thamatra* and seven times by the superscribed sign. Medial *o* in *lokesu* (read *lokesu* 1 *o*) is hardly distinguishable from medial *c*. The language of the inscription except in the first two lines is hopelessly incorrect so that it is sometimes difficult to guess the sense concealed in these barbarous forms. A comparison with other fountain inscriptions has enabled us to establish the meaning in most cases.

The inscription records that a fountain slab was erected by Ranasika and Dhanasika, the sons of Maera, the son of the Bhatt Rudra for the sake of the future bliss of their brother Camla. This name occurs also in the Loh Tilai inscription (No. 99) and possibly indicates in both cases the same person. The two stones were found at a few miles distance from each other and the founders of both belong to the caste of the Bhattis. The date also would agree as the Loh Tilai stone was erected for the sake of the son of Camla, in the reign of Jasata who succeeded Asata in A.D. 1005-6. But the names of the relatives differ. It seems more plausible to identify Dhanasika with an individual of the same name mentioned on the Siva Dudhara fountain stone which was discovered not far from that of Siva. He belonged also to a Bhatt family and is called the grandson of Ludrauka which may quite well be another form for the name Rudra. The names Ludrau (of which Ludrauka is the Sanskritised form) and Ludru are still used in Chamla. Evidently they are connected with Sanskrit Rudra. In the Salhi fountain inscription (No. 33) the name Ludrapala is found which undoubtedly stands for Rudrapala.

The second half of the epigraph contains a stanza, which occurs in other fountain inscriptions in the same corrupt form followed by a half-verse which appears to be a quotation from a dialogue between Siva and Parvati.

The most important part of the inscription is the date—the first year of the reign of Asata Magra *u ti* 13, Monday, the lunar mansion Ardra. I have pointed out in the introductory part of the present work (p. 73) that only in two cases within

¹ The personal name Maera occurs also as that of the grantor in Arjuna copper plate grant (No. 111, p. 116).

the period from 1060 to 1088 does Magha *su ti* 13 fall on a Monday and in conjunction with the *nakṣatra* mentioned in the inscription. The corresponding Christian date could, therefore, be either the 13th January 1074 or the 19th January 1077. Unfortunately the date provided by the copper plate grant No 25, which is likewise dated in the first year of Asata's reign, do not tally with the assumption that either A.D. 1073-4 or 1076-7 could be the year of his accession. It seems that in one of the two inscriptions the date is wrongly noted. The years to which the date of the copper plate grant can be applied are A.D. 1071-2 and A.D. 1080-1 so that in any case it is highly probable that the year of Asata's accession lies between 1070 and 1080.

LEXI

आ स्वस्ति ॥ परममहाराज महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री आसट देव राज्ये सम्वत् (१ २)
१ माघ शु ति १३ चन्द्रदिने आर्द्र नक्षत्रे स्थापितमिति भट्टकटाक्षज माघ- (१ ३) पुत्र रणमोह-धन-
मोह^१ हर्षिता आचि चनिकस्य स्वर्ग माग उत्थाटनाथ स- (१ १) सार-भय मोतिन त्वनेव वरुण देव स्था-
पितस न वरुणात्पर देव न (१ ५) च वरुणात्पर तप न च वरुणात्पर तीर्थ त्रिषु लोकेषु विद्युतम
इ (१ ७) ति सत्य महागोरी यन्त्रे स तत्रमाप्नुयात् इति श्रेयं भवतु सर्वेष

CORRECTED READING

आ स्वस्ति ॥ परममहाराज महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमदासट देव राज्ये सम्वत् (१ २) १
माघ शु ति १३ चन्द्रदिने आर्द्रा नक्षत्रे स्थापित इति भट्ट रुद्राक्षज माघ- (१ ३) पुत्र रणमोह धन-
मोहाभ्या ह्याभ्यमेताभ्या स्वात् चनिकस्य स्वर्ग मागोपाटनाथ स (१ १) सार भय-मोताभ्या वरुण-देव
स्थापित ॥ न वरुणात्परी देवो न (१ ५) वरुणात्पर तप । न वरुणात्पर तीर्थ त्रिषु लोकेषु विद्युत ॥
इति सत्य महा गोरी योन्त्रास् सो स्तमवाप्नुयान् ॥ इति श्रेयो भवतु सर्वेषाम् ॥

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the reign of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord the illustrious Asata of divine descent in the year 1, [the month of] Magha, the bright fortnight the lunar day 13 on Monday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Ardra has this fountain stone (ht *Faruna*) been erected by Ranasiha and Dhansihir, the two sons of Maca, the son of Bhutta Rudra, fearing with the fear of existence, in order to open the way to heaven for their brother Camka.

No higher god than Varuna, no higher gain of penitence, no higher shine than Varuna is heard of in the Universe. Therefore in faith Oh great Gauri he finds the end of human birth.

Thus may it be a blessing to all!

No 28—LUI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE FIRST YEAR OF JASATA ŚASTRA [11]81 (A.D. 1105-6)

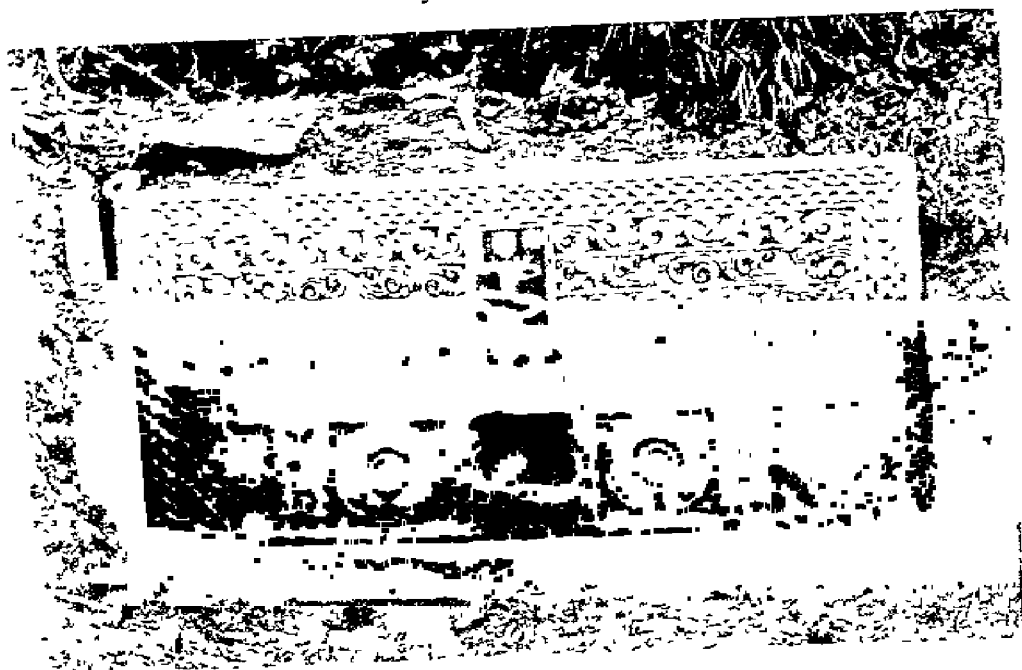
(PLATES XXVII AND XXVIII)

The hamlet of Lui is situated in Pungri 1½ miles north of west from Dharvas (map Darvas) and at a short distance from the Paddi border. Below the village

¹ The first *akṣara* in glt. be read as *ba o* 1a

The syllable *et* *arāma* perhaps stands for *t arā* even therefore or for *la*; *a* *aa* even by 1 m. In the latter case we should have the ang. *ba* = end of the dual.

Siyā Fountain Stone.



HEIGHT 3'

Luj Fountain Stone



HEIGHT 4'

is a place known as Dhadvra which is little frequented owing to the popular belief that it is haunted by the winter witch (*Sit la Badihi* lit. 'the old Woman of cold'). Here stands a quaintly carved fountain stone measuring 1 in height and 6 in width. In its centre there is an inscribed tablet 5" high and 15" wide surmounted by a lotus rosette. On each side is a sunk panel containing the clumsy figure of a squatting deity. The one to the proper right is Ganesa the god of prosperity apparently four armed and holding an axe and a conch shell in his right hands and a thunderbolt (⚡) and a wheel in his left. These attributes it will be seen are far from orthodox¹. The other deity is most probably Varuna, the god of the waters. He wears a moustache and a sect-mark (or a frontal eye²), is two armed and holds a mace or trident in his right and a lotus in his left hand. On both sides are coiling snakes which seem to issue from his diadem. The representation bears a close resemblance to the central figure of the Naghai fountain stone.

Over each of these figures there runs a horizontal border, whilst the lotus in the middle is surmounted by a pair of buds perhaps meant for peacocks. In the lower portion of the slab separated from the upper part by a horizontal rope border, we have in the centre a vase (*kalasa*) and immediately beneath it a square opening to receive a water spout. On both sides there is a curiously degenerated pilaster, the shafts having been replaced by scroll work. On the capital of the one to the proper left there is a second inscription of three short lines almost entirely obliterated. At the sides of these pseudo pilasters there is a lotus rosette somewhat smaller in size than the central one and different in design. Both ends of the slab are occupied by a vertical row of panels which contain various figures representing birds a horseman a squatting figure a pair of interlaced snakes and a nondescript quadruped.

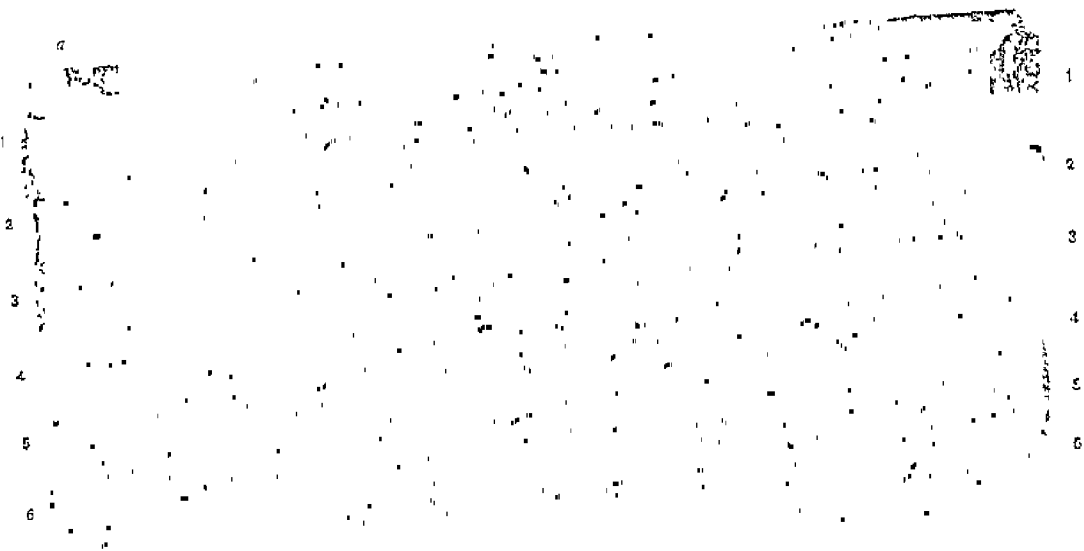
Originally there was in front of the large slab a square cistern, formed by three smaller slabs which are still extant, but displaced. The front one is carved like one of the Naghai stones with three eight petalled rosettes enclosed between five pilasters. It measures 17 in height and 6 in width.

The inscription, incised on the central panel, consists of five lines of about 11" in length and a short line 3" long written beneath the end of the fifth line. The *alif* signs measure from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ in height and are deeply and clearly cut in the stone but owing to long exposure their outlines have become somewhat worn away. The language is a mixture of very corrupt Sanskrit and vernacular terms which are for the most part difficult to explain. It would seem that the stone was erected by an individual called Nagai the son of Bhatalu and Bhatnagi. It does not appear from the inscription to what caste he belonged, but there is a local tradition that the fountain was constructed by an ancestor of the present *dehbandha* (revenue officer) of Dhadvra who is a Brahman by caste. The name, Nagai is still of common occurrence in Chamba. Bhatnagi may be compared with the name Bhatlu borne by the wet-nurse of Raja Prithvi Singh. The name Bhatnagi does not seem to be now in use, it is possible that the first member of the word is the caste name *Itall*

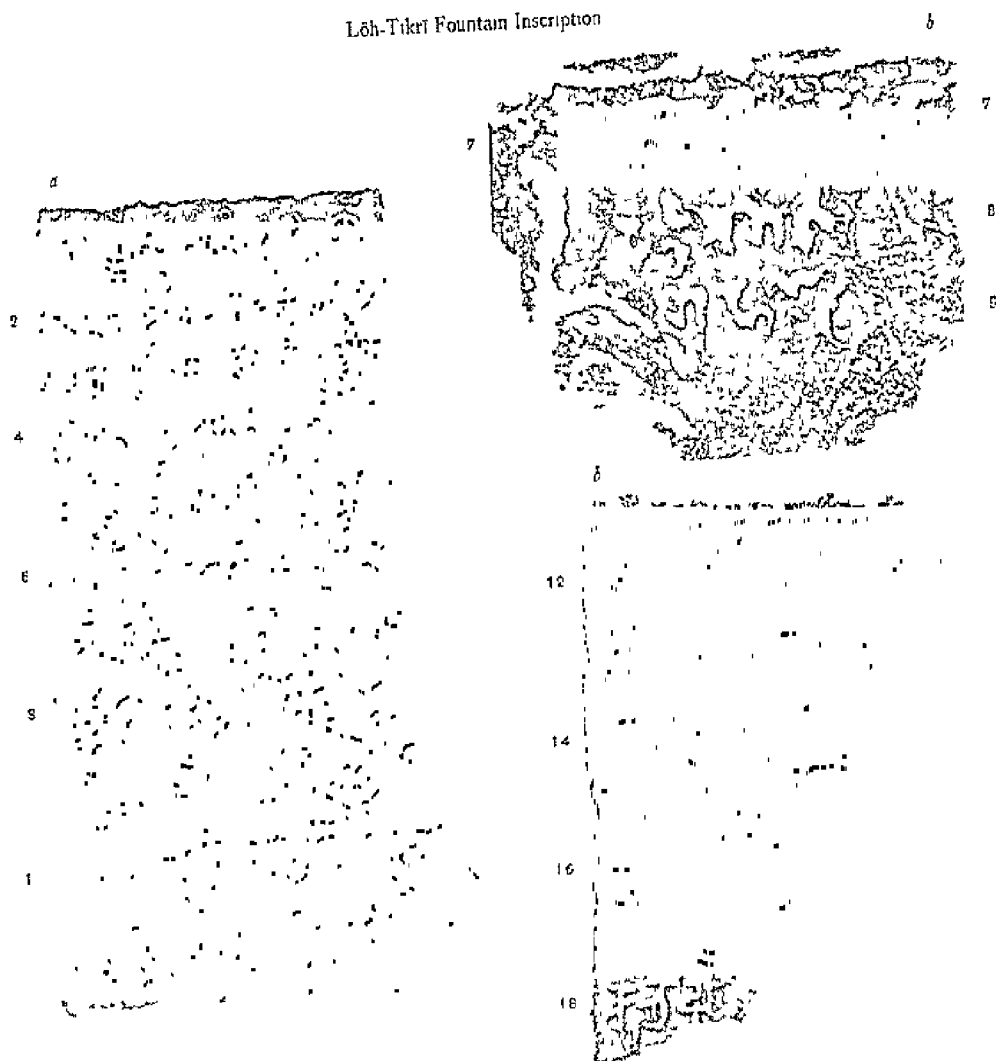
¹ Cf. above pp. 138 f.

² It still does seem to read *calaka*. In the fac. sim. Pl. XXXIII it is written as *cal*.

Lai Fountain Inscription



Löh-Tikrī Fountain Inscription



The inscription is dated in the 9th year and in the reign of Jasata (spelled Jasatia). The question arises whether the year mentioned is a regnal one or refers to the Śāstra era. In the latter case it could correspond only to A.D. 1133. To this assumption there are two objections. Kalhana mentions Udaya-varman as Rājā of Chamṛa on the occasion of the siege of Śrinagar in A.D. 1122. In the second place, Jyestha *badi* 12 of Śāstra 9 (A.D. 1133) fell on a Wednesday (Muk) whereas the day of the week of our inscription is Sunday. If, on the other hand we assume the year to be a regnal one both the day of the week and the *nakṣatra* will be found to agree. The Jui fountain inscription (No. 28) has yielded Śāstra 81 i.e., A.D. 1105 as the first year of Jasata's reign, his 9th year must, therefore, have been A.D. 1114, and Jyestha *badi* 12 would correspond to the 3rd May of that year. This date fell on a Sunday and the moon stood in the lunar mansion Revatī.

TEXT

श्री स्वस्ति ॥ सवत् ८ (1 2) प[र*]म भटा (इ)रक-महाराजा (1 3) धिराज^१ परमेश्वर-
(1 4) श्रीमद (ज)-जामद (ट) देव (1 5) राज्ञे कुशली ज्येष्ठ (1 6) वति द्वादश्या सूर्यदि (1 7)
ने रेवत्या नक्षत्रे[ः] रावा (1 8) कीटि पदाम्ने^२ ग्रह[णे*] (1 9) सो[म*] सूर्यया [१*] स[म*] तुल्य फ
(1 10) [ल] देवी वरुण यो प्र (1 11) निष्ठित[॥*] इति शुभ [॥*]
(1 12) भट्ट श्री ज्ञान पीठ—(1 13) कोन सुत सुग[ण] — — (1 14) धुवतेन^३ — — —
(1 15) तु^४ चनिक पुत्र [ग] — — — (1 16) स्य परल्लोका[र्थ] वरुण (1 17) देव[*] स्या [पित
सहा] (1 17) र भय [भीतेन]

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the year 9, in the reign of the supreme prince the king of kings the supreme lord, the illustrious Jasata, of divine descent in [the month of] Jyestha, the daśī fortnight, the lunar day 12 on Sunday at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mans on Revatī By a gift of ten million cows at an eclipse of the sun or moon an equal merit [is attained as by him] who erects [an image of] Devī or Vāruṇ. Maśinu the son of —kona and grandson of the Bhāt, the illustrious Jaja, together with his wife (?) has erected [this] fountain stone (*literally* god Vāruṇa) for the sake of [the bliss in] the next world of Ś —, the son of Ornika and grandson () while fearing with the fear of existence

Nos 30-32 —DLVI RI KŌPHI INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES XXIX AND XXX)

DLVI ri kōphī (map Debrī Kōphī) a village of the Berī (map Barī) *paigana* of the Curāh *razadarat* situated at an elevation of 7,700 on the western slope of the Khablah Nālā a side valley of the Berī Nālā. The place is named after a temple of

^१ I transcribe the words साराजधिराज and परमेश्वर after the *akṣar* s *parāṇ* I have been roughly inserted.

^२ The word "पदाम्ने" is regularly found in copper-plate grants after the donors' name as an adjective. I have left it untranslated.

^३ The word "धुवतेन" occurs also in no. 27, 41 and 43.

^४ The word "तु" is written in the original.

^५ The word "स्य" is written in the original.

the goddess Camunda (modern Condi) Devi. The present building decorated with quaint frescoes and curious carvings in *deodar* and *shisham* wood, was erected in A.D. 1754 by Raja Umed Singh as appears from the following Prakrit inscription cut on two wooden boards on both sides of the entrance

TEXT

स ३० मद्यी प्र २१ नगायत अथ जे श्री महाराज उमेद सिंह श्री देवी चामुंडा दा देहार पाय
देहारे दा मीरदार श्री मीर बीसन मीर हाजरी नीचेडी घवा सुगलाह भगदु बखण सुदव भडा
बटेहड हेनु देव गठीर यान पोह प्र २८ सवत नीग्य सुभ

CORRECTED READING

स ३० मद्यी प्र २१ नगायत अथ जे श्री महाराज उमेद सिंह श्री देवी चामुंडा दा देहार
पाय। देहारे दा मीरदार श्री मिया बिसन सिंह। हाजरी निम्हडी घवा सुगलाह भगदु। बखण
सुदेव भडा। बटेहडा हेनु देव गठीर यान। पोह प्र २८ सवत लिखा। सुभ।

TRANSLATION

'In the year 30 [the month of] Bhadra 21, on that date the illustrious Maharaja Umed Singh has built the temple of the goddess Camunda. The Superintendent (*sardar*) of the temple the illustrious Miy a Bisan Singh the stewards, Giamyam the Nilhai and Jhag u of Sui gal the carpenters Gardar and Jhanda the stone masons Delu of Hail and the *cala* (?) Dval. Written on the 29th of Poh Bhisit.'

There are, however, at Deviri Kothi remains of much greater antiquity. The village contains besides a small *lunga* shrine the ruins of a large building now overgrown with vegetation which by local tradition is said to have been the castle of a Rana or Ilkhan (cf. above fig. 18). That this tradition is founded on fact is borne out by three epigraphical records which belong to a fountain enclosure to the north east of the village, on the road leading to Siam Pinga by the Cam (map Chamb) Pass and by the villages of Candru and Bail.

NO. 30—NARAYANA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF RAJANAKA
NAGA PALA—(PLATE XXIX)

In the centre of the back wall of this fountain enclosure there was a stone figure (height 14½, width 8½) of Visnu Narayana which has now been deposited in the State Museum (Cat. No. A. 9). It is three faced the side faces being respectively those of a boar and a lion and shows the god seated on Garuda clasping Lakshmi in his left arm, and holding a mace in his right hand. Evidently the image was originally four armed. The whole sculpture is much defaced. On the base is the inscription in two lines 7½ and 3 long. It is clearly cut and well-preserved, except for the two first *al* signs of the second line, which are lost but can be restored with certainty. The average size of the letters is :

TEXT

धा । स्वस्ति राजानक महान्त्री नगपालेन नारायण देव घटापिता सूत्र (1 2)[धार] उद
सुत ममगण घटित इति शुभ

CORRECTED READING

धा स्वस्ति । राजानक महान्त्री नागपालेन नारायण देव घटित सूत्र (1 2)धारोदसुत
ममगण घटित । इति शुभम् ।

TRANSLATION

Hail By the Rana the very illustrious Naga-pala [the son-in-law of] god Narayana
[was] caused to be made [it was] made by the artisan¹ Sabhagra the son of Uda

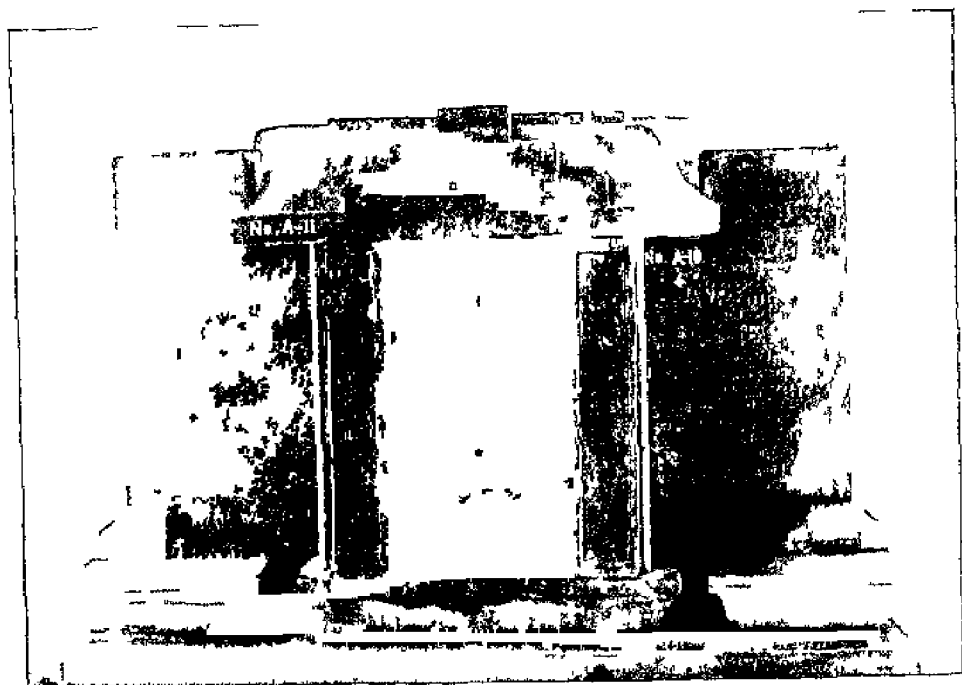
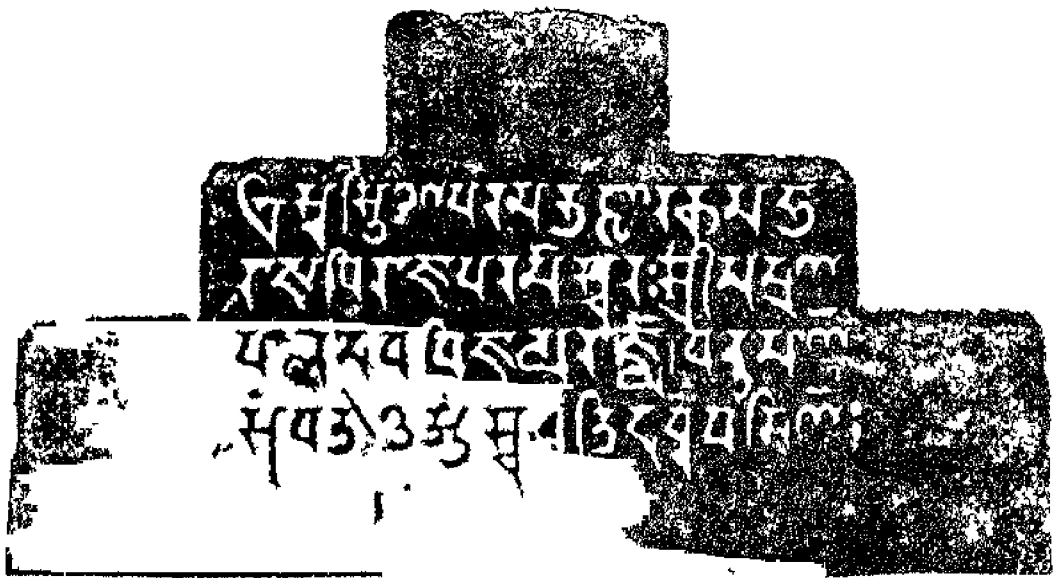


Fig 25 D 1 inscription front

No 31—STONE INSCRIPTION OF RANA PALA OF THE YEAR 2
(PLATE XXIV)

The Vishnu image just described is enclosed between two upright slabs each 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ' wide. A large stone (1' 9" wide 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ' high) overlaps the three. It has two round mortises in diameter placed at a distance of 11" apart and corresponding to two similar holes in the stone on which the image rests. They are evidently meant to receive bars which kept the image in position as their distance nearly agrees with the width of the image and the two adjoining slabs ($8\frac{1}{2} + 2 \times 2' = 13\frac{1}{2}"$). On the front of the sun-dial stone the second inscription is found. It consists of four

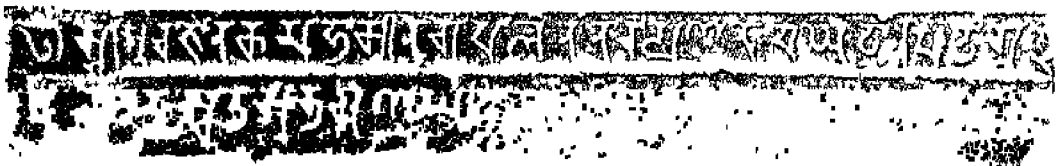
¹Crumb of leather and a damru stand well below to Uda but no count of these invariably
to or 11" trace of 1" of the stone partially other metal
On ed of inscription of No. 35



SCALE 0.55



SCALE 0.55



SCALE

lines 7" in length the average size of the letters is 1" It is well preserved and its execution is excellent The stone is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat No A 11)

TEXT

आ स्वस्ति । परममहारकं सङ्गा (1 2) राजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमद्रूप (1 3) पाल देव
विजय राज्ये । वर्तमाने (1 4) सवत् २ आश्व वृत्ति ८ बुधदिने

CORRECTED READING

आ स्वस्ति । परममहारकं सङ्गा (1 2) राजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमद्रूप पाल देव विजय-
राज्ये वर्तमाने सवत् २ आश्विन वृत्ति ८ बुधदिने ॥

TRANSLATION

Hail In the victorious reign of the supreme prince the king of kings the
supreme lord the illustrious Rana pala of divine descent in the current year 2 [the
month of] Ashvina the dark fortnight the lunar day 8 on Wednesday

NO 32—MOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF RAJANAKA NAGA PALA
OF THE 17th YEAR OF LALITA VARMAN (A.D. 1159-61)

(PLATE XXX)

The last and most important of the three Devirahofin inscriptions is carved
on a stone slab (18" high, 10" wide) which originally must have stood to the
proper left of the Narayana image and is now preserved in the State Museum (Cat
No A 10) In its upper proper right corner a rectangular piece (1 × 3½") is cut
away so as to make the slab fit into the overlapping top stone which bears the
second inscription (No 31) The latter shows a groove 1½" wide which is exactly
the thickness of the slab and a discussion (*cf* fig. 5)

The inscription consists of twenty-five lines and is composed in Sanskrit poetry
From the fact that the numbering of the stanzas begins with 10 it is evident that
the slab contains only the second half of the poem. According to local tradi-
tion, there existed another inscribed slab of the same size which stood on the pro-
per right side of the Vishnu image. It is said to have been removed by a lama some
forty years ago and carried off to Luga across the Chini Pass. Whether this be
true or not the stone is no longer *in situ*. Thus it is the more to be deplored as the
inscription is both of literary and historical interest. The remaining slab more-
over which contains the second half of the inscription is badly damaged the surface
having peeled off more or less all along the edge of the stone. In this manner the
first line has half disappeared. The marginal portions of lines 7-25 are lost, the
number of missing syllables varying from three to about twenty. The end of lines
17-25 also is completely destroyed so that of the last two lines only a few syllables
in the centre are still traceable.

The greater part of the inscription is composed in poetry which circumstance
enables us to restore to a certain extent the missing syllables. The stanzas are
numbered from 10 to 17. The metres used are the following:—10 *Śākhari* 11
11 *Ujagati* 12 *Maṭim* 13 *Paśantatāla* 14 *Ujagati* 15 *Maṭim* 16 *Pitṭa* and

it must have consisted of four syllables — — — —, and we may safely restore it as *rajanaka*, the title which Naga-pala bears in the Narayana image inscription. In verse 15 we find the purport of the inscription expressed in exquisite language namely the construction of a water tank by Balha in memory of her deceased husband. Verse 16 contains the date of the inscription (elated from the accession of Lalita-varman and the name of its author Kamala-lucchana the *guru* of the Raja just mentioned. Thus, at least is the purport of the last portion of this stanza if my restoration of the missing syllables is correct. The last verse is a benedictory stanza which concludes the *prastava* proper. The remaining three and a half lines must have contained the date expressed in the *Sastika* Lalita and the names of the oversees and workmen connected with the construction of the tank referred to in the inscription.

This part of the epigraph as remarked above, is almost entirely destroyed. Of the date only the syllables *Sastika* are preserved. Fortunately the data contained in verse 16 enable us to fix the time at which the inscription was composed. There the date is said to be the year of Lalita-varman indicated by the words 'Sastika' (*manu*) and 'moon' (*radhu*). As the numerical value of these words is 7 and 1, respectively, the inscription must date from the 17th year of Lalita-varman. The name of this Raja is not only found in the *Pansavali* (No. 86) but occurs also in the Saha fountain inscription (No. 33) to be discussed later on. The latter document enables us to fix his accession in the year A.D. 1143 or 1144. The Devanagathi *prastava* must, therefore be assigned to the year A.D. 1159 or 1160 or 1160 or 1161 and the corresponding *Sastika* year would be 356 or 357.

TEXT

— — — — — (1 2) याद्यादुक्विधि विधातु वा तस्याऽपि (3) चिन्ति
तमिराल गुणनिधि ॥१०॥

(1 4) तस्यामभूदस्य शुभैकशाली गुणे (1 5) विशाली रिपुनोक काल [1*]

धर्मक्रियानुमि (1 6) त पापजन्म रश्मीनागपाली रणमोहन्वान [॥११॥]

(1 7) [पितरि पर] सुपते लोकमम्लोकशोकमपदि पतिवियोगा- (1 8) [नृर्द्धित भारतर]
स्वामि [1*]

अनुसमन विधानावाग्यामास कृच्छ्रात् नय (1 9) [विनयशाली काल] केनानुचिन्त ॥१२॥

सज्जामवाप्य मतत नि (1 10) [यतोपधा] स तीव्रव्रतेनित्र तनु तनुता नयन्ते ।

इदि नि (1 11) [नाय व] नटानमसो मुतो च दोन दया च मुग्धरिणि (1 12) [क्षेत्रे भूमि]

॥१३॥

त नागपाल ललित चित्तोद्यकार (1 13) [राजानक] गन्धवाच्यम् [1*]

अकाण्ड चक्षयसदृश चण्ड दोर्द (1 14) [गड काला] सि-विगण्डितारिम् ॥१४॥

* For 1 पापजन्म

* The *ek* and *ra* are left true syllables with lack of the *etym* *g*

* The *ak* and *la* in broken but as *ak* and *la* in *ak*

* The *la* and *ra* of the word is *pa* and *ra* in *pa*

नवन पवन वल्लभो न कसो (1 15) [ल] माता¹ प्रतिमित शशिलिखा चञ्चल जोवलो कम [1*]
 प्रति-(1 16) [पटम] वल्लभा चोकरन्दाय वन्हा निजपति सुकतार्थ पुष्क- (1 17) [राधा]
 रमे² तम् ॥११५

गुहेक कृत-कर्मण³ [पटवध-] (1 18) [विपन्न]मणो वितोर्ण बहुभर्मणोर्थिषु हत⁴
 [द्विपच्छर्मण⁵]

(1 19) [वृद्ध]ललितवर्मणो मुनि विधुन्वित वत्सरे [प्र]शस्तिमकरोदि (1 20) [मा कम]
 लनाच्छनस्तद्वर ॥१६॥

मन्तो नन्दन्तु⁶ [सदा जगद] (1 21)पि सुखशालि भवतु सामन्त [1*]

भुवि जय[तु नागपालस्तो] (1 22) [याशय] गप च स्थिरो भवतु ॥१७॥

शान्ती [यि सवत्सरे ?] (1 23) निर्मितेय प्रशस्तिरिति येय ॥ चटित — —

(1 1) उदसुत स्थापतो भागराजेण⁷ — — — — — — — — —

(1 2) भडि ल्लगेण भडि भगीदेण⁸ — — — — — — — — —

TRANSLATION¹¹

[this] was enough even to flatter her [who was] of measured speech and a vessel of virtue. She bore him [a son] the illustrious Nigapala the sole abode of grace great by his virtues the destroyer of his foes, he who by his righteous works had swept away the web of sin, not [acting] like a child in the forefront of the battle. After *his father* had gone to the next world, he—*that abode of good deportment and modesty*—overwhelmed with grief, with difficulty and through his younger brother [who is still] *an infant* held back from following him [into death] his mother instantly *fainting* at the separation from her lord. She recovered consciousness and henceforth, whilst by rigid vows of *constant fasts* she reduced her body to meagreness she brought up her sons and increased her charity her compassion for the poor *and* her devotion to Kṛṣṇa. On this Nigapala king Lalita conferred the title of *Raja* on him who with his deadly sword and rod like arm—*terrible* like the suddenly flashing rod of Death—had torn asunder his foes.

But Balha [his mother] who at every step had conceived the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze had thus *obtained* made for the sake of the bliss of her lord.

In the verse shown by [the words] “seer” and “moon” of [the reign of] the great Lalita varman—who solely performs good works and whose sport is *the*

¹ The *lāṅkā* is incredible. The metre which it is in is different.
 Read वल्लभा

² The *lāṅkā* is a slightly irregular d.

³ The *lāṅkā* is in the book of the *lāṅkā* upon

⁴ The *lāṅkā* is in the book of the *lāṅkā* upon

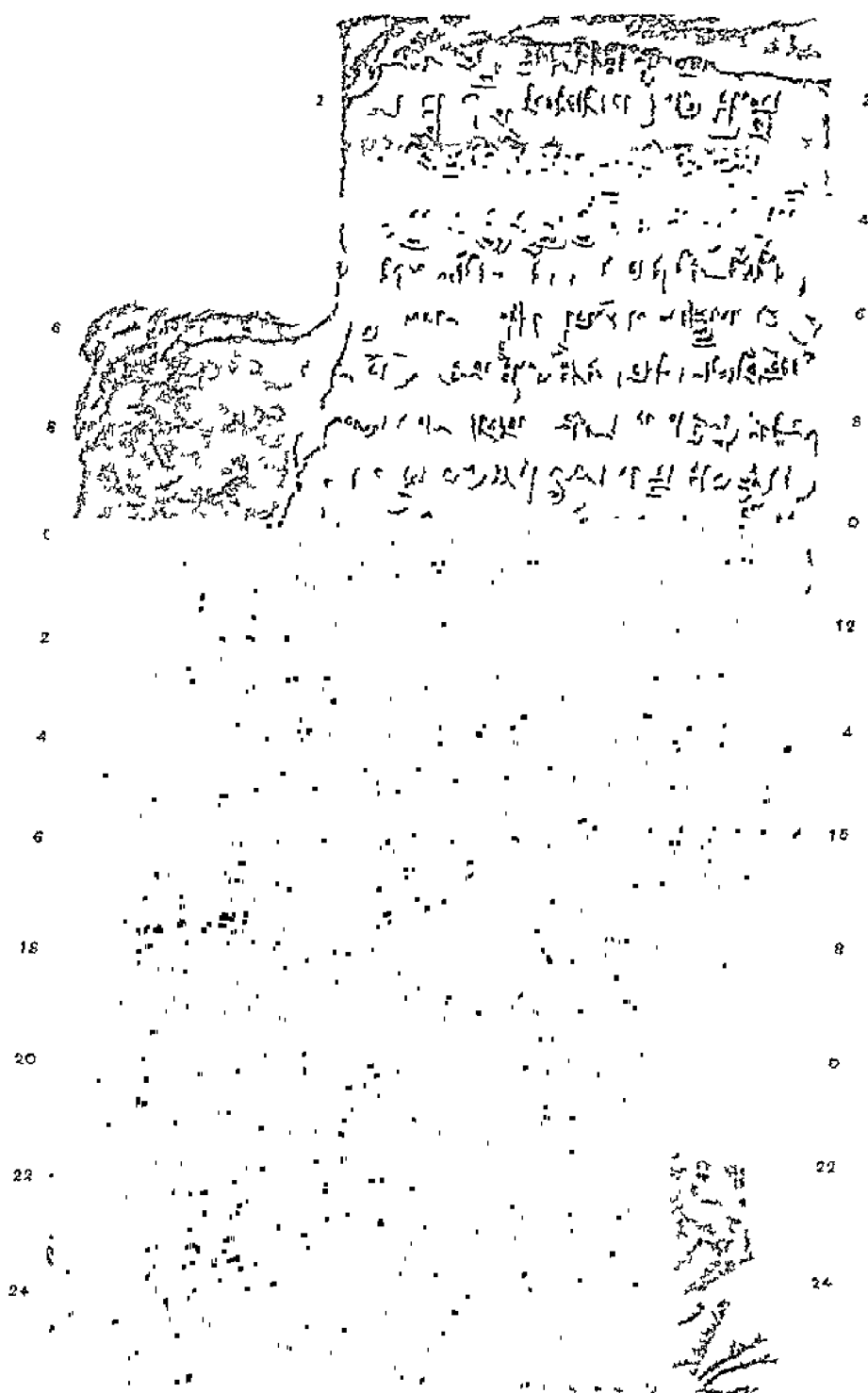
⁵ The *lāṅkā* is in the book of the *lāṅkā* upon

The first *lāṅkā* is in the book of the *lāṅkā* upon

⁶ The *lāṅkā* is in the book of the *lāṅkā* upon

The *lāṅkā* is in the book of the *lāṅkā* upon

Words in italics represent the text as compared with the original which have been restored. Words in brackets are not restored. The original and have been added for the sake of clarity.



misfortune of the wives of his enemies, who has lent much support to the needy and blessed the joy of his servants—Kamala Bhikṣana his spiritual guide composed this eulogy

May the righteous ever rejoice and the world be full of happiness, may the hero Naga-pala be victorious on earth and may this caste be stable

In the year 906 (?) of the Śastian era was this eulogy composed May it be blessed This caste was constructed by Master Bhagavān the son of Uddā by the mason, Tvāg by the mason Bhāgira

NOTES

In support of the proposed restorations of incomplete or missing syllables the following is to be noted

(L 6) Of the two syllables which I read *jala* the first is clearly *ja* without the *a* stroke which is always attached to the end of the central slanting stroke the second syllable presents the appearance of *lma* But on account of the preceding *papa* and the past participle *utī amita* there can be little doubt that *jala* is the correct reading It should also be noticed that the poet makes all the epithets of Naga-pala rhyme with his name

(L 7) The restoration of the five missing syllables at the beginning of this line may be regarded as correct Evidently the death of Naga-pala's father was mentioned here otherwise the main sentence would be unintelligible

(L 8) Here also the proposed restoration of the first six syllables is necessitated by the context, the word *mucelitam* by the expression *saṃjñam avapya* in the beginning of the next stanza and the word *mataram* by the immediately following *śam* Of this word the first *alasaśva* is still traceable

(L 9) In the beginning of this line seven *alayas* are lost, the metrical scheme being — — — — — — — The proposed restoration is due to Pandit Dvāraka Saṃsa and is, if not certain at least plausible The clue for *la* at the end of the missing portion is still clearly traceable As the syllable, which is followed by a single consonant, must be long but has neither the *a* nor *e* stroke the only alternative is that it was *le*, the *e* being expressed by a stroke in front of the *alaya* An objection to this assumption is that medial *e* is throughout expressed by the super-scribed mark in this inscription The word ending in *leni* must, of course, be connected with the following *ayena* and may well have been *balilena* unless we are to assume that it was a proper name ending in *palalena*

(L 10-12) As in verse 13 the words *tanutam* and *viddham* are placed in opposition to each other, it is evident that after *viddham* also *ṛ* for *n* of the verb *vedate* is required The syllable *ni* pre-erred at the end of line 10 enables us to restore *inaya* Of the following word *śaṃdaram* the second syllable *sa* can still be traced The first syllable of the word *bhakti* at the end of the stanza is extant in outline

(L 13) The restoration of the word *śamala* has already been discussed The last syllable it will be seen is partly preserved

The third adjective ending in *dharmā* which is entire, is to be connected with the following *akṣara*. Of the next epithet co-sequntive, no more than the first *akṣara* which is *ha* remains, and the proposed restoration is necessarily doubtful. Considering, however, that the last member of the compound must rhyme with *carman* and that *Paṇḍita*, *dharmān* and *naman* have already been used our choice for the ending word is restricted to a few expressions. It may also be noticed that the second *akṣara* can be recognized on the back of the estampage, so that only the second member of the compound can be said to be arbitrary, except as far as its form is determined by metrical exigencies. The third syllable of line 19 is certainly *lla*. The traces which remain of the first two *akṣaras* support the proposed reading *dhīha* which suits the metre and yields good sense.

Finally, it remains to discover in what connection Kamala laichana (the first two syllables are practically certain) the *guru* of h'u'ie of Lalitavarman is mentioned at the end of the stanza. Naturally we expect to find the name of its author in the concluding portion of the inscription. The Rajaguru who is bound to be a Sanskrit scholar would be a fit person to compose a *prastāva*. Our conclusion is that Kamala laichana composed the Devanāgarī inscription and by supplying the missing syllables in the proposed manner, this has been expressed in the simplest possible way.¹ It will be seen that of the first syllable of the word *prastāva* in line 19 the lower portion is still extant. The initial syllable of the next line preserves roughly the outline of the *at* of the *at*.

(Li 20 22) As *rei e 17* is evidently composed in the *lyā* metre, and the quantity of the lost syllables therefore cannot be fixed the restoration of the missing portions is attended with some difficulty. From what remains it is manifest that this stanza has the same benedictory purport as the concluding verse of the Sriyan *prastā* (No 13) which is composed in the same metre. In both cases the pious patron is specially commemorated for there can be no doubt that the *surantak* in l 21 of the Devanīloka inscription is no other than Rāghava Nāgapaṭa previously mentioned. The adjective *śulhasat* in the same line cannot of course be connected with the word *surantak* but must belong to a neuter noun which has become lost at the end of line 20. This noun I suppose to be *jagad* which with the following *ap.* (the first *utara* of line 21 is legible) makes the fourth foot of the first half verse. To complete the third foot a short and a long syllable are supplied by the word *sada*. Thus the first half verse is restored.

The second half verse I propose to restore in the following fashion suggested to me by Pandit Hirnanda. We may complete the syllables *jaya* as *jayatr* and supply the name of *Agapula* who, as just stated, is the *santa* mentioned at the end of the first half verse. It is also possible that the missing word was an adjective like *apula* *lata*. As no trace of any letters remains, the restoration is necessarily conjectural. Of the remaining five feet we have *esa ca sitho bhata*. The initial *e* with its peculiar shape and the *sa* though both broken, may be regarded as

CE B m 11th pr 100 1 5
 मृगशिरस्य मृगशिरस्य मृगशिरस्य मृगशिरस्य मृगशिरस्य
 मृगशिरस्य मृगशिरस्य मृगशिरस्य मृगशिरस्य मृगशिरस्य

certain. From what remains it is evident that the verse is an *arya* stanza of the *udgiti* variety. We require, therefore, besides the fourth foot only one short syllable to complete the fifth foot. We may safely assume that the object for the stability of which the poet plays is the cistern which supplied the subject of his poem. We require, therefore, a masculine noun, meaning a water tank, which will fit the metre. The word *toyasaya* meets the case. It will be seen that the defaced third *aśaras* at the beginning of line 22 may quite well have been *ya sa* and *ya*. The first has traces of the *a* mark, the second shows a distinct vertical and the third one has retained its shape so as to be still recognisable.

The first syllables of line 23, though somewhat defaced, can be read. The last two lines, which contain the names of the workmen, it is, of course, impossible to restore. It seems probable that Udda mentioned in the beginning of line 24 is the same individual as the *sutradhara* Uda, whose son Subhaga (Subhaga?), carved the Naravana image (cf. above p. 206). The latter would consequently be a brother of Bhaguraja, unless we are to assume that both names indicate the same person.

NO 33.—SALHI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF RAJANAKA LUDRA
PĀLA OF THE 27TH YEAR OF LALITA VARMAN, SASTRA
[42] 46 (A.D. 1170).—(PLATES XXXI AND XXXII)

This inscription is found in Pangri at the village of Salhi (map Sauli) some seven miles from Sac (map Sauch) in the romantic Secu glen (fig. 1) which debouches into the Candrabhaga valley near the latter place. It may be noticed here that an ancient route connecting Pangri and Lahul leads up the Secu Nala and after crossing the Ghor Dhar (map Guidhar) Pass, descends by the Miyar Nala to the Candrabhaga valley, which it rejoins at Markula or Udaipur (map Odapuri). Starting from Sac the stages are Secu (map Saichu, height 8412), Bator (map Batar, height 11638), Singimath (height 13000), Miyar (map Miyar, height 10216) and Cimrat. This road, notwithstanding the pass, is said to be shorter and easier than that which follows the Candrabhaga. It is practicable for hill ponies, which circumstance perhaps accounts for the name of the pass.²

The inscription is incised on an enormous fountain slab (6' 6" high, 7' wide), the largest of its kind yet seen, covered with the figures of various deities. These are arranged in three horizontal rows: the upper and central row each containing five and the lowermost row four figures. The place of the central panel of this row is pierced by a square hole through which an ornamental water spout is passed. The spring which once fed it has either dried up or changed its course. Unfortunately the stone has at some time been thrown down by an avalanche.

W. J. comp. of the concluding verse of the Sanskrit inscription.

कथं विमर्शितशिवर आदयुः शिवदत्तस्य द्यकुलन
प्रख्यातसमयतु च पथीं यीसायां किम्बदन्तम् ॥

of the Sanskrit inscription of the Sanskrit inscription.

इन्द्रप्रस्थ प्रतिमया शिव कारकल च तु

शिव विदुः कृषीय कारकल सुदायव ।

It is possible to connect the name with the word *gaur*, which in the Chambal dialect means a rock.

loulde

whereby its lower portion was partly destroyed, and the upper, proper right corner broken off. For the rest, the stone is very well preserved. In excavating the eastern in front of the slab, we recovered some fragments of the missing portion, which had been used to support the slab at the time it was re-erected.

It is a point of considerable interest that in addition to the long inscription which records the erection of the slab, each of the figures carved on it is provided with a short epigraph containing its name. This, we shall see is also the case with the Sai fountain inscription (No 35). But, whereas at Sai the figures portray both deities and mortals, we find in the present instance only beings of the higher order. The figures are placed in sunk panels separated by slim pilasters.

The five figures of the upper row are all four armed and seated in the same fashion—the right leg drawn up and the left placed on the ground. It is the position which in Buddhist art is peculiar to Bodhisattvas, and is known as the *Mahavajralila* or *Lalitāsana* attitude.¹ Each figure has its vehicle (*rahana*) reclining at its feet. The centre of the upper row is occupied by Śiva seated on his bull Nandi. He is three-faced and four-armed and wears a crescent in his head dress. His right hands hold a trident and a rosary, the attributes in his left hands seem to be a knife and some kind of fruit. A defaced inscription in two lines at the side of his head calls him *Lolapala Isana*. Śiva who is also called *Iśa* or *Isana* 'the Lord,' figures that is to say, as one of the eight Lokapalas or World protectors, his region being that of the north east (*dhīśrī āśānā, śail dīś*).

To his right we find a deity seated on an animal presumably meant for a horse or mule. His four hands are provided with an elephant hook (*airavaśa*) and a lotus-flower (*padma*) to the right, and with a club (*gada*) and a conch shell (*śankha*) to the left. The inscription next to his head marks him as *Lolapala Varuṇa*, i.e. 'the World-protector Varuṇa,' in other words the god of the waters in whose honour the slab was erected. His region is the West. I may note parenthetically that the aspect of Varuṇa in this sculpture is very uncommon. Mr. Cousens informs me that his effigy occurs among the deities on the great tower of Chitor. Here he holds a snake and a rosary in his two right hands and a lotus and a water-pot in his left hands. The figure is inscribed *Śri-Varuṇa mūrti*. The vehicle of Varuṇa is invariably the *makara*. On this animal he is seated as guardian of the west in the *astadikpala* ceilings of the Western Presidency.²

On the other side of Śiva we find, in the terms of the inscription, *Lolapala devarāja Indra*, i.e. 'the World-protector, the king of the gods Indra,' who, having been from Vedic times the agent of rain and thunder, has very appropriately obtained a prominent place on our fountain slab. Among the Lokapalas he is the guardian of the eastern region. He is four-armed, his right hands holding a club and his typical attribute the thunderbolt (*vajra*), his left hands an elephant hook and what appears to be a mace or sword. The incarnate thundergod is shown seated on his elephant *Airavata* or *Airavata*, in whom we may recognize the dark coloured

¹ Cf. *Boussier, Histoire de l'Inde*, t. 1, p. 115, note 1 (Paris, 1900) p. 6, n. 4.

² It should be remembered that Varuṇa is seated on the *makara* (elephant) in the *astadikpala* ceilings.

³ Cf. *J. J. 4*, Vol. II, p. 1, p. 60.

rain carrying thunder cloud. In Sanskrit poetry the clouds are often compared to elephants *e.g.*, in the following stanza from "The Little Clay Cart" ¹

It seems as if the sky would take the guise
Of some fierce elephant to service bred,
The light as light winged streamer flies
And white cranes serve to deck his mighty head

It is interesting that Airavata is also the name of a Naga king, which by popular etymology has become changed into El paria.

The two remaining figure of the upper row are both deities of the Saiva Pantheon. At the proper right end we recognize the familiar shape of Ganesa with a single tusked elephant's head. He has exchanged his ordinary vehicle, the rat, for a lion possibly borrowed from the lion seat (*Śaṅkhaśana*) on which we find him often enthroned in older examples. One of his right hands holds a rosary which strange to say is shown upright the other some indefinite object. His left hands hold an axe and a vessel of sweet meats, to which he has applied his trunk. The sculptor has thought it necessary to label even this most popular member of the Hindu Pantheon. The inscription, the first syllable of which is lost runs [*Go*] *na dhipati*.

The proper left end of the upper row is assigned to Śiva's other son Skanda Kartikeya or, as the inscription incised on his breast names him *Kumara-deva* 'the divine Prince'. He is seated on his vehicle the peacock, and has his usual number of faces whence his epithet Sanmukha or Sadanana 'the six faced One'. His attributes are a trident similar to that of Śiva, and a rosary in his two right hands, and another trident of different shape and a bud in his two left hands. In the second trident we may recognize a spear—Karttkeya's typical attribute ².

The bird in the second left hand bears a very close resemblance to a parrot but is more probably meant for a cock. This bird, at least is mentioned as one of Kumara's attributes in the following *dhyaṇa* which I have found on a miniature representing that deity

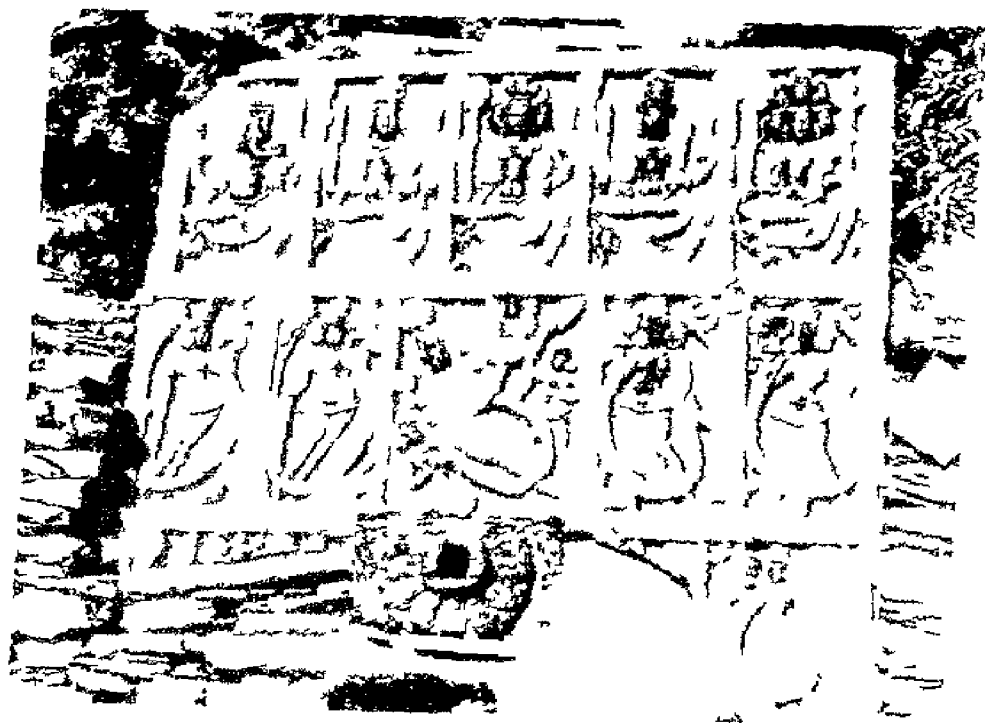
मिन्दूरगन्धमिन्दुकान्तिवदन कयूरहारादिभि
दिव्येश्वररत्नैर्विभूषितस्तु स्वर्गस्य सौख्यप्रदम् ।
अश्वोत्तमयशस्त्रिकुक्कुटधर टिव्याङ्गरागोज्ज्वल
सुव्रह्मस्वमुपास्मन्ते प्रणमतामिदार्थमिद्विप्रदम् ॥

"We worship the moonshined one moonshine faced, whose body is adorned with bracelets garlands and other celestial ornaments, the giver of the joy or Paradise who beaming with heavenly ornament bears a water born lotus protection, a spear and a cock and, very kind to Brahmans, gives the attainment of their desired objects to those who bow down before him."

The Little Clay Cart (*Mṛcaśikhatika*) transl. by A. W. Ryder (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1900) p. 83 Cf. above p. 139 f.

¹ In the third act of *The Little Clay Cart* the Brahman beggar Śaṅkha speaks of his Patron Karttkeya as the Lord of the Golden Lance.

² One of Karttkeya's right hands makes the gesture expressing protection (*Śikhaśāntaṁśānta*) and with the open palm the level or the soldier.



In the centre of the middle row, right over the spot opening, we recognize the well known scene of Visnu sleeping, a symbolisation of the sun's disappearance during the season of the rains, and, therefore, very appropriate in the present instance. The subject is commonly found on the fount in stones of Brahmo and Chahaman and is always treated in the same conventional manner. I have noticed it also on spring enclosures in Mandi State. On our sculpture we see Visnu reclining rather awkwardly on the Naga Dasa who joins his hands in adoration (*namas karoti*). It will be noticed that the Naga does not wear the usual hood of snake-heads, but the lower part of his body is that of a serpent. Visnu himself is three faced, the right and left faces being those of a lion and a horse respectively. This peculiar feature not infrequently found on Visnu images in the Western Himalayas, he has in common with the Buddhist gods Śaśi or Viprasiti. He is four armed and holds his ordinary attributes—the lotus (*padma*) and the wheel (*calas*) to the right and the conch shell (*śaila*) and the mace (*gada*) to the left. From his navel springs a lotus flower on which Brahmā, likewise four armed and carrying his usual emblems, is seated. In front of Visnu stands Lalasa fanning her lord with a fly whisk (*camara*). The inscription over his head runs *Śiva kavya* (read *Dasa kavya*) *Visnu* which means 'Visnu resting on Śiva'. The substitution of *i* for *e* is a peculiarity of Sanskrit pronunciation in Kāśmīr and seems to point to the author of the inscription having come from that country.

On both sides of the sleeping Visnu there are two panels each of which contains a female deity standing facing the centre, and holding a well shaped water-vase in one hand while the other clasps a lotus stalk. The four figures are identical, but the vase is always in the hand next to the centre. They are moreover, accompanied by different animals. Though from their attitude and attributes it is evident at once that the four figures represent river-goddesses, it would have been impossible in every instance to fix their names solely by means of these more or less phantastical *vahanas*. To remove our doubts, the sculptor has cut their names on the vases, which, in the Indian fashion, they hold raised to the level of their shoulders. Those names, in some cases, are given neither in Sanskrit nor in the modern vernacular but in an intermediate form which probably corresponded to that in use at the time of the inscription. The two figures immediately to the right and left of Visnu are the personifications of the sacred twin rivers, Ganga¹ and Jamunā, readily recognizable from their vehicles—the crocodile in its conventional shape as *malaya* and the tortoise. They are, moreover, marked by inscriptions as *Ganga* and *Jamuna*. The latter name is an intermediate form between Sanskrit *Yamuna* and the modern *Jamunā*. The lingual *a* is evidently due to the propensity for cerebralisation of dentals peculiar to the Chāmbhāli dialect. The occurrence of *Ganga* and *Jamunā* at the entrance of temples has been noticed above (pp. 117f).

I may mention here that according to information received from Mr. Consens we find the three river goddesses Ganga, Yamunā and Sarasvatī portrayed among the deities on the tower of Clatur. The *vahana* of Sarasvatī is a fish. In the Ilhri Caves in the courtyard of Anahar, there are three standing life size images of these

¹ I have put the word *ganges* in parentheses in each of my references to the name of the river. For the word used from Gie.

same thice While Ganga and Yamuna stand upon the *makara* and the tortoise respectively Sarasvati stands upon a lotus

The figure adjoining Ganga on our sculpture has a fish as *vahana* and is called *Vethi* in the inscription This name we may safely interpret as a derivative of Sanskrit *Vatista* signifying the westernmost of the five rivers' famous both as the Hydaspes of Alexander's battle and Horace's melodious ode and as the Vyth which waters the Happy Valley If we remember the tanks teeming with fish of Vernag Anantnag and other sacred springs of Kashmir, the vehicle assigned here to the river which they feed, will seem most appropriate It is hardly necessary to add that the Vyth of Kashmir is the same river as the Jehlam of the Plains

Next to the Jamuna we meet a river goddess with a dragon She represents the Indus named in the inscription by its old Indian appellation *Sindhu* (the modern *Sindh*) whence originated the name by which the whole Indian continent has become known to the West

The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen Tsang² when crossing the Indus at U to Kishan cha, the ancient Udashbanda or Udashinda (modern Und or Ohni!) speaks of 'poisonous Nagas and hurtful beasts' occupying the caverns and clefts along its banks This may perhaps account for the vehicle which here distinguishes that river

The third or lower most row of deities is, as has been remarked above partly missing but enough remains to show that it contained four figures identical with those just described but somewhat smaller in size Of these four Narads that at the proper right end is the only one the *vahana* of which is preserved It presents the appearance of a hippocamp such as frequently occurs on Greco-Buddhist sculptures³ The inscription leaves no doubt that the river personified here is the Birs (or *Byas* according to the legend), the Vedic Vipras[a] and the Hyphasis of Alexander's historians

Of the figure at the opposite end the *vahana* is lost but the vase resting on its right hand retains the epigraph *Satalubha* evidently an older form of the name Satluj (vulgo Sutlej) derived from the Vedic Sutudra An intermediate form Satadru occurs in Sanskrit literature⁴

The two inner figures of this row are almost completely gone but they must have been similar to the others We may safely assume that they represented the rivers Ravi and Candiabhaga, for it is not very probable that the two rivers of Chamba should have been omitted Thus, besides the two sacred rivers Ganga and Jamuna, and the not less important Sindhu we have the five great tributaries of the latter which from ancient times have given to the country which they water its name 'the land of the five rivers'

¹ It would seem at first sight that there were too strokes over the initial consonant, but one of these belongs to a coronation of the vase in which the inscription is written

² In the epigraph the word *Sindhu* is apparently spelled with a *g* at *g* and dental *d* We may compare the form *Canyak* (to *Canyaka*) of the copper plates in which however the second consonant is a *h* (*h*)

³ *Syll. Ind. (Ind. et Beal)* Vol. I p. 136

⁴ Cf. Foucaux *Fr. rigre olo d d h q d Ga d d r a* p. 121

⁵ Cf. Banerjee *Rajal. 49* also *Palan. Ind. et Beal* p. 11 n. d. d. *V. et Beal* p. 121 Chamba I have heard the name of the Satluj pronounced Satalu.

We have mentioned above that in front of the carved fountain slab just described there is a cistern meant to receive the water but now filled with earth. It is rectangular in shape and measures 12.3 by 5.8. The front slab 12.6 wide, 1.8 high and 1.3 thick is also decorated with carvings. Though much defaced, they allow us to recognize three crouching male figures seated cross-legged and separated by dwarf pilasters the shafts of which bear lozenge-shaped ornaments. The whole device can be traced back to the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara where it is commonly applied to decorate the bases of *stūpas*. Of the three figures the central one has his hands resting on his knees in the attitude of an *Atlant* though in reality there is nothing for him to support. It is equally strange that the two remaining figures are provided with fly-whisks which would have been more appropriate if the central figure had been a deity. At the two ends of the slab there is a lion standing with its head turned outward. This indicates that the scheme of the decoration here exhibited was borrowed from the *si-mhaseua* of southern India. That the fountain slab when seen in perspective would, as it were surmount the front stone may have suggested this form of ornamentation.

The inscription is cut along the raised rim between the upper and central row of figures and consists of three lines of unequal length. Lines 1 and 2 cover the whole width of the stone and measure 6.6' in length the third line is 5.7' long. The letters which are on the average 3' high are well engraved but in places the surface of the stone has disintegrated so as to make the shape indistinct. A more serious difficulty in dealing with this inscription is the circumstance that sometimes syllables have been left out. The language moreover is as defective as in other similar records. Long and short vowels are frequently interchanged. We find *u* instead of *ā* in *bhuvana* (l. 1) and *madhara* (l. 3). The *an* *stare* is regularly found over any vowel which are followed by a pre-consonantic *nasal* and the *isa* *ga* is freely placed at the end of words to separate them as *ti* *ve* *c*, from each other (cf. above No. 28).

The first line contains three benedictory stanzas. The first composed in the *Puspilaga* metre is also found in the beginning of the copper plate of Soma Varman (No. 21) and that of Soma Varman and Asoka (No. 2) so that we can easily restore its very corrupt reading. The second and third stanzas composed in the *Anustubh* metre are addressed to Śiva. In the correction of the second verse I am indebted to Professor Kulhörn. The third verse in which several syllables are missing has been restored by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni.

The first half of the second line contains the date of the inscription the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Lakṣmī Varman or the forty-sixth year of the Śaśa era. The name of Lakṣmī Varman occurs in the *Tarāval* (l. 5) immediately after Udaya-varman who assisted Sussala of Kannur in the defence of Śrīnagar in A.D. 1122.² The year of our inscription must, therefore, be 1170 A.D. Unfortunately the other particulars of the date do not agree. Prof. Kulhörn has arrived at the conclusion that most probably the month of Śrāvaṇa has been erroneously

² Cf. *Boucher of Art* Pl. 28 fig. 84-5.

Plat. XXVII. It will be noticed that the subject is the same but the style is

² *Raj. t. VII* 1053. *transl. S.* Vol. II p. 56.

substituted for Asadua in which case the corresponding date of the Christian era would be Sunday, the 28th June A D 1170

The rest of the second line is of unusual interest as it contains the designations and names of the local officials. It will be seen that two of them bear the titles *gana* or *segana* which is certainly not Indian. Mr A H Francke has suggested to me that the word is possibly a corruption of Tibetan *logampa* meaning 'a custom house officer or tax collector'. This explanation seems very plausible and would point to a period of Tibetan rule in Pangi previous to its conquest by the Rajas of Chamba. I may add that the vowel in the first syllable may perhaps be read *o* which would make the word still more similar to the Tibetan *logampa*.

The first mentioned Segana Kaluka was evidently the chief official of Pangi which is here called Pangati. It will be noticed that, though his title may be of Tibetan origin his name 'Kalu' is certainly Indian. The next official named Nenu(ka) has the designation of *pratihara* (read *pratikara*) which occurs also on the Salfuntan slab (No 35). Next comes Kuru(ka) the *dandavasi* a title, also found on copper plates which probably denotes a police officer. The last named official Snu(ka) who like the one first mentioned bears the title *segana* was evidently in charge of the *lith* (Sanskrit *losthala* or *losthayana* No 25 l 21).

The last line of the inscription records the erection of the fountain stone (*Parvati*) by Rani Dohra the wife of the Rana Ludra pala. The name Ludra pala which evidently stands for Rudra pala, seems to point to Kasmiri influence. We find the name of Jyesthira rudra on the Talchit Sulaiman near Srinagar designated as Jyesthira ludra in an inscription of A D 1481². It is not a little curious that up to the present day the house adjoining the Salhi fountain stone is inhabited by a family of *Raia*s (now simple agriculturists) who claim descent from the Rudra pala of our inscription (cf fig 21).

After a short sentence in praise of the water of the fountain, the inscription ends with the name of the writer Kayastha Sekhri, and of the two stone masons (*Shikharadhara*) Sahaya and Gagga. The latter certainly deserves more praise for their craft than the former for his knowledge of Sanskrit.

TEXT

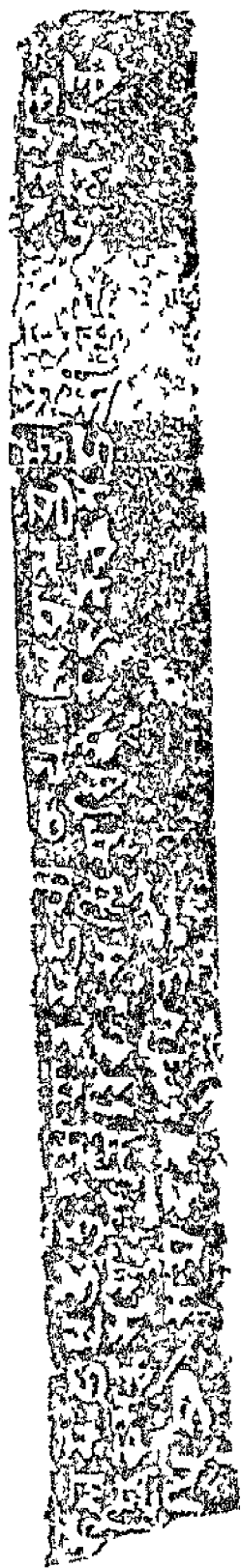
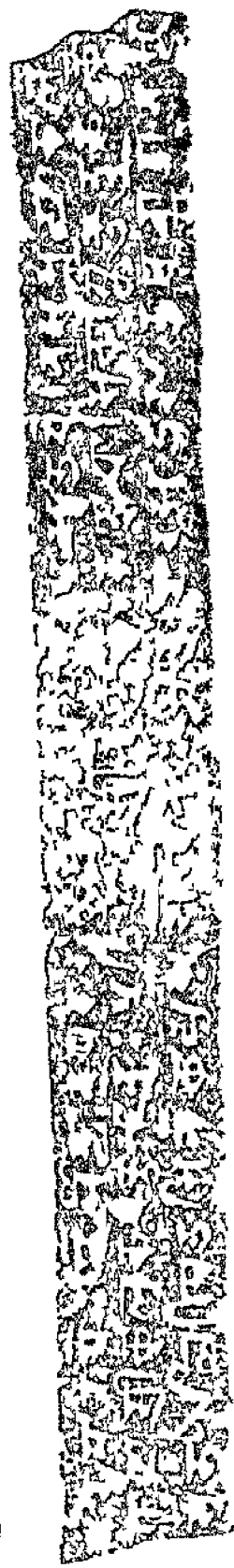
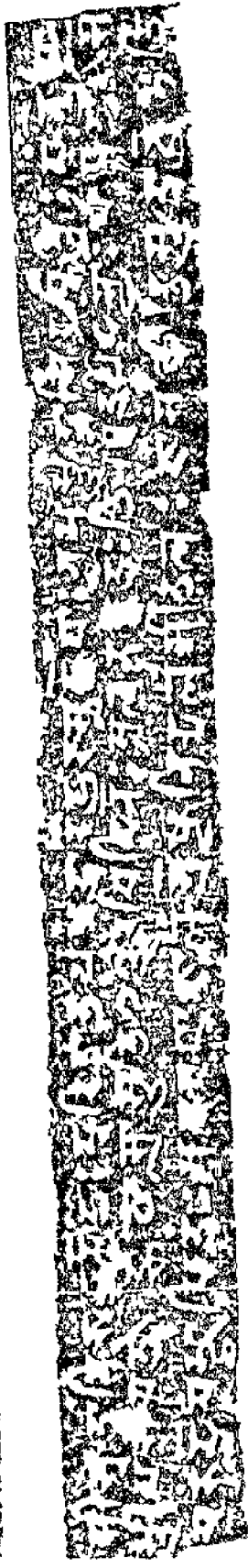
आ स्वस्ति । आ जयति भुवण कारण । स्वयमुर्जयति पुनरन्त पुरारी जयति शोमुता निरुद
देहो दुःखिताभय पद्मारी हरद्व दवा नमस्तुङ्गशिर शशि चन्द्र चामर चारव चैलीकानगरा रम्भ मूल
[स्तु] आसप शम्भ । नमस्तथाकाल कालदेहमहातु अपान दह पीडाय सिवास व्यतीसुत्तम परम
भ (1 2) टारक महाराज परमेश्वर श्रीमन्मलित वर्म देव विजय राज्ये मघत २७ शास्त्रीय सवत ४६ आ
शु ति १२ रविदिने मूल नक्षत्र तिथि च्योदश्या पाङ्गत्वात्^१ शेषाण श्रीकालुक वर्तमाने प्रति
हार योनेशुक दण्डवासिक श्चिकतुक कोष्ठिक मल्ल सहाण शिरिक सन्धि वासित राजानक महाश्री
सुद्रपाल मल्ल (1 3) मर्या । राज्ञी श्री देवलेन । शिव लोकाय विष्णु परलोक आरधाण सर्गलोक

¹ The date has been fully discussed in labore pp. 11 f.

² For a discussion of the functions of the officials cf above pp. 131 f.

³ Cf J H M 1811 *Notes on the Archaeology of the Kafir* p. 18

⁴ The last two alphas occur also not only of No 12 l 13



क्रीडाये' वरुण देव स्थापितं सगराजं जनं श्रेष्ठं निर्मलं शीतलं जगत् कीर्तिं शुभार्थे इति शुभं
निमित्तमिदं कायस्थ मेखेन सूत्रवार-सहजं तथा गगनेन स्थापितम् मन्त्रमेव स्थापितं

CORRECTED READING

यो स्वस्ति । यो जयति भुवन कारणं स्वयभूर्जयति पुनश्च नन्दनो मुरारि । जयति विरि-
सुता निगड डेडो दुरित भयापहरो हरय देव ॥ नमस्तुभ्यश्चिन्मि चन्द चामर चारवे । वैलोक्ता
नगराश्च मूलं स्तम्भाय शम्भवे ॥ नमस्तस्मै कलाधर्मे काल दह प्रत्याणि । प्रयानदेश पीठाय
शिवाय व्यक्ति स्रनवे ॥ परमेश (1 2) द्वात्रिंश महाराजाधिपति परमेश्वर श्रीमन्नितवर्म देव-विनय-
राज्ये सवत् २७ शास्त्रोक्त सवत् ४६ या शु ति १३ रविदिने मूल नक्षत्रे त्रिंशो वयोदश्या पाङ्क्त्या
मेगाण यो कालुकि वर्तमान प्रतीक्षार श्री नेपुके दण्डवामिक श्री-कुतुके कोष्ठिक सत्क मेगाण गिरिके
मान्ने वामि राजानक सहाय्यो-लुपपान सत्क (1 3) भार्यया राज्ञी श्री देन्दया शिवलोकार्ये विष्णु
परमोक्तानाधनाय स्वर्ग लोक क्रीडाये वरुण देव स्थापित । सवर्ण जन श्रेष्ठ निर्मल शीतल जगत्
कीर्तिं शुभार्थे इति शुभम् । निमित्तमिदं कायस्थ मेखेन । सूत्रवार-सहजेन तथा गगनेन स्थापि-
तम् । मन्त्रमेव स्थापितम् ॥

TRANSLATION

Har! Victorious is the Cause of the world, the Self-existent (Brahma) Vic-
torious is the son of the Destroyer of castles (Siva or Indra) the enemy of Mara
(Karma) Victorious is He whose body is held by the Mountain daughter (Durga),
He who removes distress and danger—Hara, the god

Reverence to Sambhu (Siva) the beautiful, whose lofty head is touched (it
kissed) by the moon is by a chariot, [and] who is the beginning the root and the
support of the town of the Universe

Reverence to Him, the Crescent carrier who strides the body of Kula [and]
whose seat is the region of Apra—Siva, the creator of the manifested world

In the year 27 in the reign of victory of the supreme prince, the king of kings,
the supreme lord, the illustrious Lohita varman of divine descent, in the Sastar year
46 [the month of] Sravana, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 13 on Sunday at
[the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Mula, on the thirteenth lunar
day—when in Pingala there was the *Sega* in the illustrious Kula (ka) the *pat-hana*,
the illustrious Nenu (na) the *dandavasil* the illustrious Kutu (ka), and *Sigana*
Sisu (ka) in charge of the Kotlu—[at that time] the wife of the Rani, the very illus-
trious Lohita pila of Saha, the queen, the illustrious Delhi has erected a fountain-
slab (it Varana aera) for the sake of Siva's heaven, in order to give the other
heaven of Vishnu [and] for the sake of the joy of Paradise

The *avara* of the *Ida* is the upper half of the sandier rock layer

The *avara* is the lower

* The *avara* is the lower half of the sandier rock layer

* All the proper names in this passage except *Siva* are preceded by the word *Sega* a proper name of the
salle *avara* and *avara* is the name of the *avara*

* The *avara* is the lower half of the sandier rock layer

The *avara* is the lower half of the sandier rock layer

The *avara* is the lower half of the sandier rock layer

* The *avara* is the lower half of the sandier rock layer

[This] flowing water [is] excellent, pure and cool [and] causes glory fame and grace Thus may it be blessed This is written by the writer of legal documents Sel ha It was set up by the stone mason Sahaja and by Gagg-a—truly set up

NO 34—MUL-KIHAR FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATE XXXIII)

At a distance of about 3 miles to the north west of Dyuhr (map Dune) the headquarters of the *pa gara* of the same name lies the hamlet of Mul Kihar The name seems to indicate that it was originally the chief place of the Kihar *pa gara* The present Kihar *lotha* is situated some 4 or 5 miles further to the west at the village of Digi On a spur above the village of Mul Kihar there are the remnants of ancient walls which evidently once belonged to a building of considerable size Local tradition holds that this was the site of a Rana's castle and the inscription presently to be discussed leaves no doubt as to the correctness of this tradition

On the site I found a defaced piece of sculpture 1' 9" high and 1' 3" wide, representing a goddess standing between two female attendants Each of these figures wears the usual ornaments and is placed on a conventional lotus The central one shown in a dancing posture is four armed Two arms seem to swing a snake over its head the other two are in front of the body but the attributes which they once held are lost The two attendants of somewhat smaller size and in the usual contorted posture were presumably provided with fly whisks (*Śūla camara*) The attendant to the left of the main figure with her right hand raised above the head has the typical attitude of a *chowrie* bearer The two pilasters shown at the sides of the figures indicate that these were supposed to be enshrined in a chapel It is not clear what architectural member these pilasters are supporting as the upper portion of the sculpture is totally effaced The cusped arch, partly preserved at the back and over the heads of the figures seems to have developed from a trifoliate halo

A more important relic of the past is a ruined fountain at the side of the Dyuhr Kihar road in the immediate proximity of the site just noticed The destruction of this cistern is locally ascribed to the Basohli people In the reign of Raj Singh about A D 1771 Chamba was invaded by the Basohli Raja Amrit Pal at the instigation of Ramjit Dev of Jammu Raj Singh repelled the invader with the assistance of the Ramgarh Sardars and in his turn invaded and conquered Basohli in A D 1782 Again in the reign of his son and successor Jit Singh bands of Basohli troops made incursions in Chamba territory under their chief Bijai Pal² In A D 1800 the Chamba Raja retaliated by invading and conquering Basohli The traveller George Forster who travelled through Basohli territory in April 1783 gives a graphic account of the destruction caused by the invasion of Raj Singh of Chamba.³

The name of the last Rana of Mr. I. C. S. is said to have been Gulab Singh and that of his Rana Kannoni I am told that one of his descendants Mahit brought by name still lives at Bhadrav

Of *Chamba Ga. Ins.* pp. 93 ff. The date of the copper plate referred to in the footnote is Vikrama 1831, Saka 1696, Visakhapurnima Vys. p. 16 correspond to Wednesday 11th May A D 1774

² Forster *Jour.* p. 4 of I pp. 2 of

Vasantatilaka in verses 5, 10 12 13 18, and 27. *Malini* in verses 6 and 16. *Anustubh* in verses 7 (?), 9, 14, 20 24 26 (?) and 29. *Upajati* in verses 8, 19 and 30, *Mandakianta* in verse 11. *Sikharini* in verses 17 and 25 and *Dutavilambita*(?) in verse 28. At present not a single verse is entire but a few can be conjecturally restored. Enough remains to make out the chief contents of the inscription. It may be divided into three parts. The first part consists of benedictory stanzas and invocations to various deities, the second part contains the genealogy of the local Rana to whose piety the fountain owed its origin, and the final portion gives an account of the pious foundation itself.

Let us now attempt, as far as the fragmentary state of the document allows to consider its contents more in detail. The first stanza, apparently preceded by the usual *mangala* in prose, is almost entirely destroyed. Presumably it contained, like the following stanzas an invocation to some deity perhaps Varuna, the god of the waters who, as we have had frequent occasion to notice takes a prominent place both in the carvings and inscriptions on monuments of this land. Of the second stanza the concluding portion is still legible, it ends with the name of Śiva whose protection it was apparently meant to implore. The third stanza had evidently a similar purport, but the name of the deity invoked is lost. Stanzas 4 to 6 are addressed to Kama (Madana) the god of love to the Sun god Surya here called Iarani and to Śiva's son Kumara or Kuntukeya the god of war. The seventh verse begins with the word *mayah* from which we may infer that like the preceding six stanzas it was intended to secure the blessing of some deity.

The second genealogical portion of the inscription is on the whole somewhat better preserved than the beginning and concluding parts, but unfortunately most of the names are lost. Of the first of the Rana's ancestors, mentioned in verse 8, the name certainly ended in *-pala(śa)*, the first member of the name is perhaps *gaya*. He bears the title of *Rajanaśa*, i.e. *Rana* and is said to belong to the house (*gotra*) of the *muni* Kāśyapa. In stanzas 9 and 10 it is related that he married, and a child was born to him but the names of both his wife and his son are lost. In the next two verses (11 12) this son marries in his turn and begets a son whose name is likewise missing. This grandson of Rana Gaya pala marries a lady, Śūramatī by name who is praised for her generosity (verse 13). Several sons are born by her, the names of the eldest being Śūramatī Lakṣmana Golhana and Chinou² (verse 14) and also a daughter Bhāppika whose beauty is described in an elegant line of poetry (verse 15). The following passage (verses 16 18) consists of an account of the death of Śūramatī and of the lamentations of her relatives told in exquisite language. Verses 19 24 eulogize the water, which quenches the fire of grief and allays even the torments of hell. These stanzas, all composed in the *Anustubh* metre, seem to be a quotation, as may also be inferred from the following *Iti śrūtaḥ*, but I have not been able to ascertain from what work they are borrowed.

The concluding portion of the inscription relates how a cistern of clear water was constructed, evidently in memory of the deceased Śūramatī. In verse 25 the founder is named Goga, but it is not apparent whether her husband is indicated by

¹ Cf. Holsen *On the art of Indian Epigraphy* § 471

² The form *Chinou* in Cham. *Chinua* occurs in the *Pranath pravaśa* I 27

this name or one of her sons. In the latter case Goga might be a pet name for Golbina mentioned in verse 4. It seems, however, more natural that it was the husband of the deceased lady who had the fountain made. The whole passage is too much mutilated to allow us to arrive at any definite conclusion. So much is certain that in verse 30 the date of the inscription is expressed in the regnal year of some Raja of Chamba, whose name I propose to read *Vijayavarman*. Unfortunately the first syllable is lost and the second uncertain. If my conjecture is correct, the lord *Vijaya* of our inscription may be identified with *Vijaya varman*, who in the *Pambavali* (sl. 85) figures as the son and successor of *Ladita varman*. As we know that the latter became Raja in A.D. 1143 and was still ruling in 1170 the date of *Vijaya varman*'s reign must fall about the end of the 12th century. This conclusion well agrees with the palaeographical evidence afforded by the Mul Kihar inscription. It follows moreover from verse 30 that the Ranas of Mul Kihar owed allegiance to the Ranas of Chamba.

Another point of considerable interest is whether *Rajuraka Gajapala* mentioned in verse 8 of our inscription can be the same person as the *Shakkura Gajapala* who according to the *Rajatarangini* (VIII. 415-9) collected a force to restore the pretender *Bhikshana*, to the throne of Kashmir but was treacherously murdered by his own relatives before he could give effect to his design. Chronologically the identification might well be maintained. The *Gajapala* of the Kashmir Chronicle lived in the reign of *Jasita* of Chamba, to whose court *Bhikshana* found a refuge for several years. We saw that the Raja who founded the Mul Kihar cistern lived at the time of *Vijaya varman*, i.e. about the last quarter of the 12th century. His grandfather may therefore quite well have been a contemporary of *Jasita* who ruled in Chamba in the first quarter of that century.

On the other hand it would seem from the wording of Kalhana's account that his *Shakkura Gajapala* was a feudatory of *Padmaka*, the Raja of *Vallapura* whose daughter *Bhikshana* married. This however is not a very serious objection. We can hardly expect absolute accuracy in a narrative of events which happened at a considerable distance from Kashmir. *Gajapala* the Raja of *Mul Kihar* was most probably like his grandson a vassal of the Raja of Chamba but his estate lay almost on the border of *Vallapura* territory and he could therefore conveniently collect the troops from both States. For it should be remembered that *Jasita* of Chamba lent support to his kinsman *Bhikshana* his neighbour *Padmaka* of *Vallapura*.

So far therefore, the identification seems plausible enough but it may be well to emphasize the fact that the reading of the name in the inscription is itself problematical. Only the last member of the compound is certain and this unfortunately was the common cognomen of many royal and noble families of the period. The first part of the name must indeed have consisted of two short syllables, the first of which is still extant in outline and can hardly be anything but *ga*. The little that remains of the second *avar* permits of its being read as *ga* but this reading must of necessity be regarded as conjectural.

As far as the fragmentary state of the inscription allows us to judge the record is composed in very pure and grammatically correct Sanskrit. The only error

तस्याप्यासीद्दुग्गुण गणा-लङ्गता धर्मपत्नी

(I 10) यस्याय युत्वा विनय [यशस] तत्त्वज्ञान ना[न]सूक्ष्म
मो[म]न्तिन्यो धरणि वलये रूप मोभाग्यमग्राम ११

तस्याम[जायत] ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — —
— — ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — (I 11) ७ ७ — भवन्ति

— ७ ल५ परमुपेयसि[द्वस्त]नीना
सत् व्यधातु[म]व भाञ्जि शरीरकाणि १२

तस्यास्ति शूरसतिगित्वमन [व्यथावा] [पत्नी] ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — १
(I 12) — — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ यो ७ यज्ञा यज्ञात्त दत्त वसुधात्र हिरण्य

वस्त्रा । १३
श्यामस्तु लक्ष्मण गोक्ष्ण किन्तु प्रमुखा म ७ — ।

७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ [आत्म] (I 13) [जा५ प्रसुतास्तया । १४]
कुन्द कुडमल दत्तो सुमध्यमा फुल्ल पङ्कज सुगो पिक स्वरा ।

नील नीरज समान नीचना भूमिकेत्यभवद[स्य चात्मजा । १५]
७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — — (I 14) ७ — [मा प्रयातः] दृ[चि]दशपति वधूना

रूप सोमाय्य वृत्ति ।
नियतमव [निमासाया] परित्यज्य जेतु विजित मनुज लोका स्वर्ग भूमि[मवाप । १६]

७ — — — — ७ ७ ७ ७ (I 15) ७ — न प्रणयिता न मत्त ना — — न
च मधुर वरव्यामृत रस ।

खलस्यैतद्वित्ते निवसति [क]ष्टा विद्वत विष [संघा] दुष्टादुष्टात्रयति मम वृ[त्त्या] यम पुरीम् । १७]
— — ७ — (I 16) ७ ७ ७ — नयनाभिरामामुल्लङ्घा प्रियतमा जनताभिनन्द्याम ।

भक्तुव्ययुर्जदिसा विषम ५ कृतान्त ५ पर्वत्ययश शशिकनामिव [धर्मरश्म । १८]
७ — ७ — — (I 17) ७ ७ — ७ वी गिन समान दु ५ खतुज दु ५ ख भीरो ।

तद्गोदनाम्भस्त्विति सिध्यमानग शनैः शशाम प्रिय [वा] न्ववय्य । १८
जल द्वि जीविन लाके जलमात्मा जल व[य ।]

७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ (I 18) ७ ७ ७ ७ व भाविका । २०
सू [ह्रां व्य]म परीताना गोकर्ताणा विदाहिनाम् ।

तो ७ काम ७ — — ७ ज्वलन इष्ट चतसाम । २१
विद्योगिना रागिना ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — ७ — ।

(I 19) ७ ७ [महा] रौरवश्च महापद्मश्च रौरव [२]७
तत्तवस्तु [क म] जय ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — ७ — ।

[सत्तम्य] तस्य कि कर्तुमनोन्तयेस्य शीतलम् २३
अ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ (I 20) ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ येन ता ।

यन दत्तन तृष्यन्ति [मद्यो] लोकास मनानना २४
इति यु[त्वा] — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ —

[स्व]मुद्दिगा[नन्ट] पितरमिह गोगी म्य त[नया ।]
७ — — — — ७ ७ ७ (I 21) ७ ७ — [स्व]मलिन

व्यधातोराधाय सुर नर पितृ प्रीति जननम् २५]
व्यधातोराधाय सुर नर पितृ प्रीति जननम् २५]

ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ मलम् ॐ — ।

ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ य सिर पञ्च ॐ ॐ ॐ (1 21) — ॐ — २६¹

तस्यात्मजन पितृ [वाक्वमिव] व्यधायि तीयाशयो यमि ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ —

य वीक्ष्य वीक्ष्य ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — —

सृष्टि ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ (1 23) — ॐ — — २७

ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ काव्य नन्दना स[हृत्त]र [प्र]तिपा[ल]यति क्षितिम

अज ॐ — ॐ मुहा ॐ ॐ — ॐ

ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — २८

(1 24) ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ —

ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ [विनिर्मित २६]

सवस्तरे वणपक नामधेय पुरी पत[र्क] कुलोद्भवस्य ।

— — ॐ — — [वि]जयेश [रस्य] (1 25) ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ३०

— — — त रणजो विबुध हृत्यनरोत्तमच्छ—द — — —

TRANSLATION *

Ha 1 Adoration

1 [Lost]

2 Siva whose wrath and favour bear fruit with his *foes and friends* [*may he protect you*]

3 He whose splendour is white like snow—may he keep (you)

4 I *praise* Madana (*i.e.* Kama) who though his bow was reduced to ashes
subdued the heart of
the Trident holder (*i.e.* Siva)

5 I am in whose fire the
misfortune of the *righteous* [*is consumed*] like fuel he who is a boat
on the *ocean of existence* may he render you [*I happy*]

6 The chaste Kumara (*i.e.* Karttikeya) conquers *the host of enemies*

7 [Lost]

8 In the house of the great Sage whose name is Kasyapa was born the
Rajmala called the illustrious *Gayapalaka*

9 [*He married a lady*] who was appropriately so
named and who secured success to the factions of her father in law
and her father

10 To him of noble deeds was born by her a son
whom here the multitude of princes [*praised*] as the
champion of knighthood

¹ The metre suggests a Jagnya from the space occupied by this verse it seems to have been an *Adyastubh*

² The metre is uncertain. We have apparently a *pada* in the *D* but in *o* in *net* but a *me* of *leal* *caras* are 1 a

³ Some turn words are found in this. We do not know where they have been left untranslated

Lila L. C. Lani SC pzo

- 11 He also had a lawful wife adorned with a multitude of virtues
at the report of whose fame the fair
 ones within the circle of the earth yielded without complaint the
 utmost claim of their beauty
- 12 By her [*was born a son*] *[at the sight of whom]*
 the bodies of the fair ones feeling the pangs of Love [*attained*] their
 highest aim
- 13 His [*spouse*] is Sūramatī of spotless nature
 who bestowed land food
 gold and clothes at sacrifices and on the afflicted
- 14 She bore [*has several*] sons of whom the elder were Sūramatī Lakṣmaṇa
 Gobhara and Chitrā
- 15 He had also a daughter Bhṛāṅgā by name with teeth like jasmine
 buds, a slender waist, a face like a full blown lotus the voice of a
 cuckoo and eyes resembling dark blue water lilies
- 16 She (*Sūramatī*?) *passed away* Certainly, *having*
attained he went and conquered the world of men, she left the earth
 and reached the abode of heaven to transcend in beauty, loveliness
 and surpass the women of the Chief of the gods¹
- 17 neither affliction, nor
 faithfulness, nor *nor the necessity* of sweet
 words—alas! [*none of these things*] ever dwells in the mind of Fate,
 the deity who leads the righteous and unrighteous to the same
 manner to Yama's town
- 18 thus hostile Fate separated
 her—his most beloved, seated on his lap the delight of his eyes,
 praised by all mankind—from her husband even as the passing of the
partan [*separates*] the Moon sickle from the *dayed* [*Sun*]²
- 19 the fire
 [*of grief*] of her dear relation *was slowly allayed*
 besprinkled with the stream of the water of his eyes
- 20 For water is life in [this] world, water is breath water is strength
- 21 Of those who are overcome by faintness or fatigue, who are afflicted
 with grief or burning *of those whose mind is*
 singed by the fire
- 22 Of lovers separated *[the hells]*
 Mahaurva Mahapadma and Prurva—

The Lord of the eds (*Dānava*) situated at the side of His celestial abode is ruled by the Cardiores and Aj are adorned the pedestal of the word to catch no that is if the heavenly empire's mindra Paradiso.

In 1954 the Indian made his struggle of death and the birth of the new era.

* The power & influence of the New Moon are very strong and therefore it
is important when they are of the New Moon you will see great things & I tell you
that is also true.

तिसन्निधौर्कीदृष्टिरेव साधसत्तम मार्गे वल्लभोऽदिष्टः ।

तस्मादपायतम भीष्माद्यैः पञ्चाशद्विंशतिः श्रीमद्भगवत्सु

- 23 And the one called Iaptivaluka (Burning Sand)
 what would they do to that *being* whose mind inside is cool
- 24 with the gift
 of which the eternal world becomes at once satisfied
- 25 When he had thus understood and exhorted
Ananda his father, Goga his son made this
 cistern of *very pure* water which causes joy to gods men and unces-
 tial spirits
- 26 [Lost]
- 27 By his son this cistern was made here like the word of his father
 at the sight of which
- 28 [his] sons with their offspring The *chief* protects
 the land
- 29 Constructed by
- 30 In the year [of the reign] of Prince Vijaya the scion of the Solar
 Race and lord of the town named Campika
- 31 gleaming in the
 lotus like heart of the wise

NO 35.—SAI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF AJAYA
 PALA, ŚASIRA 1 (A.D. 1225?) OR KALI 1270 (A.D. 1169?)
 (PLATES XXXIV AND XXXV)

Such is the head quarters of the *pargana* of the same name which belongs to the Gurh *walayat*. Near a fountain below the village there stands a curved stone of considerable size (3.6 high 1.6 wide). In its centre is a square hole (9 × 9¹) which once must have contained a water spout. The spring apparently has changed its course. There are still two water spouts with curved mouths beneath the fountain slab but these also have become dry.

Immediately over the square opening we notice a *linga* placed on a stand of the ordinary type. The symbol of procreation is being worshipped by two figures placed on either side of it. The one to its proper right is a bearded male figure seated cross-legged on an ornamental cushion, and holding a censer in his right and a bell in his left hand. Between him and the *linga* there is a vessel presumably intended for offerings (Hindi *bhog*). From an inscription placed immediately over this figure it appears that it represents *Ranautra Phahi* the person for whose sake the fountain stone was erected. The figure on the other side is a female standing on a kind of stool. Round her head is a halo of trefoil shape. She wears a diadem from which a scarf (H. *dupatta*) floats down over both her shoulders and also an ornamental petticoat. The upper part of her body is nude; her breasts are broken and her face slightly injured. Presumably this figure also was marked with an inscription but the surface of the stone above it has peeled off. From its position we may presume that it represents the wife of Ranautra Phahi. In her right hand she holds a fly whisk (Skr. *cumara*, H. *cañi*, *cañi*, Anglo-Indice *chowrie*) with

It does not follow that the first *akṣara* is to be read *plā* or *ll*. The rounded shape of the letter leads us to assume that it is more probably for the *gh* than for the *ph* usually written in a loop. For instances see above p. 6.

her left hand she grasps the scarf of another female figure somewhat larger in size which stands behind her and is labelled *Du Nagh*. This personage wears the same kind of dress, though differing in design. She holds a water vessel in her left hand, the right hand which is empty shows the attitude known in Indian iconography as the 'gift-bestowing' (*Skṛvāra mudrā*). Beneath these two female figures we notice the effigy of a fish. The other end of the slab is occupied by a figure similar to the one last described, but holding in each hand a lotus flower. The inscription over this figure is destroyed except the first letter which is *la*. Beneath it is a quaint looking animal presumably meant to represent a tortoise. There can be little doubt that in these two figures we may recognize the portraits of two ladies belonging to the household of *Ranapṭia* Phaiṇ for one of them is a sanctified marked as *du* i.e. nurse. We know that even at the Mughal court the wetnurse of the heir apparent had the title *du* and was a lady of distinction. In Chamba we have the example of *Dai Batlo* the wetnurse of Raja *Prithi Singh* who according to popular tradition saved the life of her nursing from the hands of *Jagat Singh* of Nurpur. She was the founder of two temples and the donor of gifts of land, the title deeds of which are still extant among our copper-plates.¹ Thus it can be no matter of surprise that the nurse of *Ranapṭia* Phaiṇ was considered worthy of being portrayed on the stone. It is curious that the sculptor, in rendering this and the corresponding figure evidently copied the river goddesses, *Ganga* and *Yamunā* commonly found on similar fountain slabs. Invariably these *Nāgādīs* are shown with a water vessel in one hand and a lotus flower in the other, and we notice that each of our two figures has preserved one of these attributes. Besides the two animals beneath we clearly derived from the crocodile and the tortoise which are the vehicles of those two river goddesses.

It is well known that *Ganga* and *Yamunā* are regularly represented on both sides of the entrance of ancient temples. They are distinguished by their *vehicules*—the crocodile and the tortoise. Some noticeable instances are the temples of *Mṛtāṇḍ* in *Kāśmīr* of *Nurpur* and *Bairnath* in *Kangra* and of *Bijauri* in *Kulu*.² And it is the same not only in the Western Himalaya but all over Northern India. But temples of a later period when the meaning of these figures was no longer understood often show these animals metamorphosed: the crocodile becomes a fish, the tortoise assumes the appearance of a goose. Such a development was not only favoured by the highly ornamental character which already at an earlier date the figures of the two animals had assumed, but seems the more natural in a region where both the crocodile and the tortoise are equally unknown.

Whereas the lower portion of the slab is thus reserved for mortals, we find the upper part occupied by beings of a higher order. Of the row of four deities seated cross-legged and separated by pilasters, the central one, according to its inscription, is *Varuṇa* the god of the waters in whose honour the fountain slab was erected. He has four arms which support a *maṭara* staff and a rosary (*Skṛakṣamālā*) on the right and a snake and a water vessel on the left.

¹ Cf. above pp. 102 and 103 and *G. I. II* p. 93.

² Cf. Colebrook's *History of the Punjab* p. 118. *J. R. A. S. Ind.* 1931-32 p. 118; *J. Ind. Soc.* Vol. II pp. 10 and 111 (1909) and *Harcourt Lectures* pp. 20-21.

The deity to the right of the central figure is likewise four-armed. His right hands hold a trident and a rosary. Of the left hands one holds a conch shell, and the other is broken. Unfortunately the name of this figure which was inscribed on the pilaster to its right is lost. As the sculptor has allowed himself so much license in iconographical matters it would be risky to identify this figure from its attributes. The trident would suggest Siva but we shall presently meet him under another name on the opposite side of the row.

The figure at the proper right end has its name, *Baudha*, marked on the corner pilaster at its side. As *Baudha* is the same as *Budha*¹ the personage represented here would be the Planet Mercury. But from its appearance it seems that the sculptor has confused *Budha* with *Buddha*. The figure is seated cross-legged with the hands joined in front of the breast. The hair is bound up in a knot on the top of the head. It thus bears in reality the appearance of a representation of the *Salva Sage* in the attitude of expounding the law (*Śkī dharmasālva-mudrā*).

We should have some difficulty in recognizing *Brahma* in the figure to the left of *Varuna* were it not clearly indicated as such by the inscription over its head. The figure is bearded but has not the four faces which characterize the Creator of the four Vedas. He is four-armed but his attributes are indistinct. The lower right hand seems to hold a rosary. In the somewhat phantastical animal beneath we must recognize a goose the vehicle of *Brahma*.

The last figure of the row it would have been still harder to identify but for the inscription over its head which reads *Dhyana Mahesvara*, leaving no doubt that the deity represented here is *Siva* in the period of his asceticism. He is seated cross-legged the hands placed in the lap in that position which expresses meditation (*Śkī dhyana mudrā*).

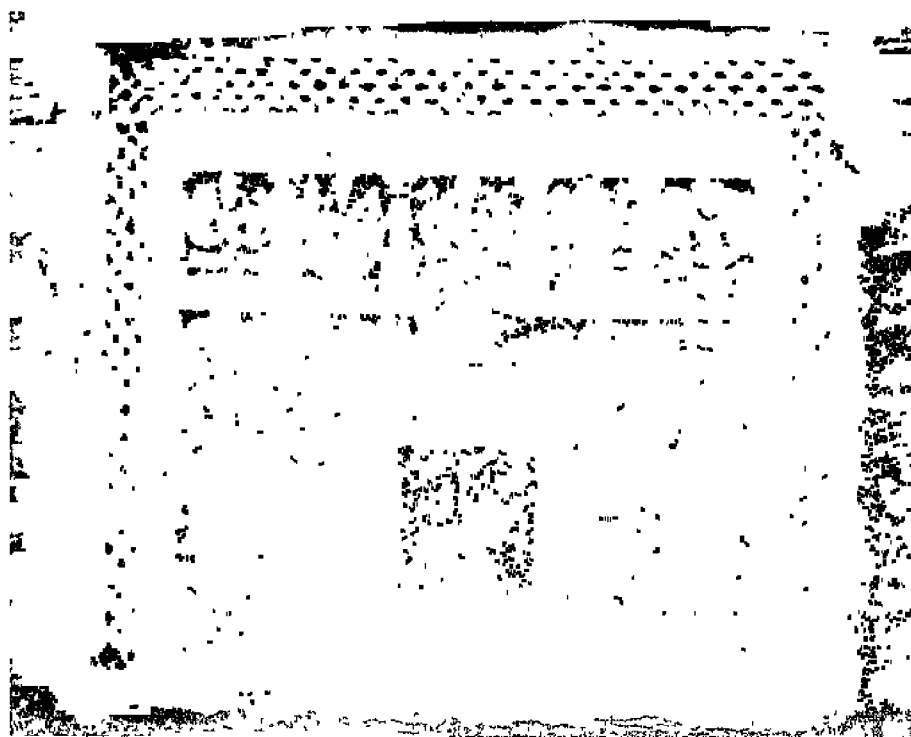
The whole of the sculptures just described are enclosed on three sides by ornamental borders each of which consists of a double pan of interlaced snakes a decorative device largely used on monuments in the Western Himalaya*. In the centre of the rim which runs above the uppermost of these borders there is a piece of ornamentation evidently the remnant of a projecting panel such as is found on other four-trunk stones (Cf fig 11). Between the upper serpent border and the row of deities there is a space of 3 ft in width by 3 ft high which bears an inscription of four lines of unequal length. The inscription proper commences 2½ ft from the snake border to the proper right. In the intervening space we find a short epigraph in three lines which I read *Pratīkṣā Śrī Gāghā*. The space after the fourth line which measures only 1 ft 10 in is occupied by the two short epigraphs *Brahma* and *Dhyana Mahesvara* already noted and the concluding phrase *Iti śrī [am]*

¹ See vol D list I I. *Catalar* p 2

The inscription that this figure refers to the wheel lay is not borne out by the conclusion deduced from the date of the inscription.

Cf above pp 16 17 and 201. In these instances the meaning of the ornaments lost and only on the S at north side is not of the same kind.

The name of the deity *Pratīkṣā* in Sanskrit literature is dear to the people but here it denotes probably some local deity and was in some way connected with the erection of the four-trunk stone. The word occurs also in No 11 12. Cf above p 12.



HEIGHT 3.6

(b) Bharārā Fountain Stone



HEIGHT 3.11

which stands between these two words, is thus separated from the end of the inscription proper by a distance of 7

The letters are of fairly large size (1" to 1 1/2") and well engraved, but in places the surface of the stone has peeled off so that several of the *alifas* are more or less damaged.

The pronounced angular type of the *alvaras* *tha*, *dha*, *pa*, *ta* and *sa* is a noticeable feature, which this inscription shares with the Devanagiri *pa asti* (No 52). The rectangular almost square *dha* is specially remarkable, this form I have not met with in any other Śaraṇa inscription. The *tha* with crooked front-stroke occurs also in the Devanagiri inscription. The *ta* appears here both in the older form with a horizontal stroke representing the original baseline (I 3 *baladāra*) and in the later form with double curve (I 1, *leḥ*). *Mehra* is sometimes rendered by a short curve above the *alvara* (I 1 *vaṭi śhasam*, I 3 *gladapam*) and sometimes the curve is continued at the side of the *alvara*. It deserves special notice that the medial vowels *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* are throughout expressed by the superscribed signs and never by a *prathamā*. The subscribed *tha* in the ligature *sṭha* (I 3) has also the secondary form. On the whole the Śaraṇa inscription exhibits the later type of Śaraṇa found in the inscriptions of the latter half of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. It also deserves notice that the *anusvara* is used instead of the nasal consonant in *setrbandha* (I 3), *anarṭi* (I 1) *paṇṭi*^o (I 1).

The first two lines of the inscription are in praise. They record the election of a 'Varan' by Raja Pala for the sake of Ranantra Phola. We have already met with this name as indicating the male figure seated at the side of the *huga*. The word *Ranantra* I believe to be a title derived from *Pala-putra* and consequently designating the son of a Pala. We may compare *arala* which, in the dialect of Chamba denotes a sonless man and is clearly derived from Sanskrit *aputra*. The word *ranantra* would therefore have the same relationship to *ra* as *rappal* to *raja*. It may possibly be identified with the caste name *Iatar* which occurs in Kastav. The Rotas who are a not numerous caste are said by local tradition to have held Kastav before it became the seat of a Raj. There is also a tradition that on one occasion they ousted the Raja and for a short time enjoyed their former independence. Their position was evidently the same as that of the Ranas in Chamba and other Hill tracts. It is interesting to note that in Kastav no Ranas are found.

The second half of the inscription contains two stanzas in the *anustubh* metre, numbered 1 and 2 in which the comparative merit of various pious works is contrasted. It will be observed that the climax of merit is no less one would expect the erection of a 'Varuna' but the construction of a road, perhaps a gentle hint addressed to the local ruler of the time. As roads deserving of the name have become known in Clamb only during the last fifty years it would appear that those in power had not shown themselves very anxious to acquire the endless merit promised by the writer of our inscription. This poetical passage betrays a very indifferent knowledge of Sanskrit grammar.

¹ We may also compare this with the results in (1) and (2) for the case of the $U(1)$ gauge theory.



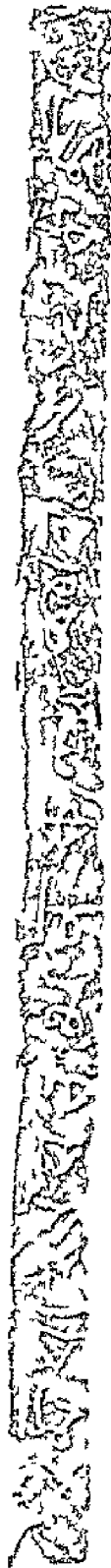
SCALE 0.35

Basua Founta n Insc pt on



SCALE 0.50

Nal Founta n Insc pt o



SCALE 0.50

CORRECTED READING

श्रीम् । शास्त्रीये सवत् [१] चैत्र वति दशम्या कलेर्गत वरपरिणि ४२०० खसित (१) ४२५०३०
 उभौ कलि प्रमाण ४२२००० परमसमहारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमद (1 2) जयपाल देव प्रव-
 र्धमान-कल्याण विजय राज्य सवत् — — — — — श्री देवसात्मज श्रीराजपालिन राणोच-श्री
 प्राहि-कारण वरुण स्थापित ॥ (1 3) मनुवन्धे परो धर्मो दशगुणम् त्वापिस्तया । कृते उत्तगुण
 प्रोक्त सहस्र सठ छादने (१) ॥ १ ॥ अयुत प्रभो नीरेण सन्न देवकुल^१ स्थापने । कोटि देव-प्रतिष्ठाया-
 (1 4) सनन्त पय्याम्भारणम् (२) ॥ २ ॥ घाटित श्री बालधार ।) क — — केन । घटित श्री सूच-
 धार [श्री]—षेन । इति सुमम ॥

TRANSLATION

In the Śastria year 1 (1), [the month of] Chaitra on the 10th day of the dark fortnight, when 4,270 years [of the Age] of Śiva (Kali yuga) had gone [and] 127,730 remained, the total [being] the duration [of the Age] of Śiva 132,000¹ years [and] in the year of the increasing fortunate reign of victory of the supreme prince, the king of kings, the supreme lord the illustrious Ajayapala of divine descent has [thus] fountain-stone (*śat Varana*) been erected by the illustrious Rājapala, the son of the illustrious Devasa (or Deva, *i.e.* the king²) for the sake of Rāmānra Phala [Verse] 1 It is declared that in the building of a bridge³ [has] exceeding merit, ten fold [that merit] in , in [the digging of] a well in hundred fold, thousand fold in [the construction of] a hospice and [the providing of] covering [Verse] 2 Ten-thousand fold [that merit has] in , hundred-thousand-fold in the erection of a temple, ten-million fold in the consecration of a god (*i.e.* a divine image), endless merit in the construction⁴ of a road

Caused to be made by the illustrious *Datadhara*¹ Chā k. Made by the illustrious artisan na Thus may [it be] blessed¹

No 36—BHARARA FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATES XXXIV AND XXXVI)

The village of Bharara (map Barara) is situated at the head of the Dakrand Nala, which debouches into the Cāpu valley near Loh Tilā, and at a distance of 3 miles from the latter place. The rivulet which waters the Dakrand ravine takes its origin from two springs. At the western source which rises near the first-mentioned village three sculptured slabs were found, besides a great number of rough carved *antā* stones. The three slabs all bear inscriptions, but on two of them the lettering is so obliterated as to render deciphering impracticable. (*Cf* fig 19)

The third slab, measuring 3 1½ in height and 9 11 in width, shows over the spout hole a male figure seated on a low couch and holding in its right hand a trident

¹ By restoring the word *datā* *śa* we have our *śa* śable in case.

The Kali yuga consists of 1200 years of the gods each of year being equal to 360 years of man. On the of above pp 66 f

² The word *śat* is still preserved in the Chamba dialect in the form *śa* but a days *śa* is the common expression.

³ The *śatadhara* (?) thread holder seems here to be the man who so skillfully carved the stone, which is the *śa* *Baladhara* (a word not found elsewhere) appears to denote the over-seeing supervisor of the work.

and in its left what looks like a club but is presumably meant for a lotus flower. This attribute we have already noticed in the hands of Varuna on other fountain stones. The figure on the Bhinara stone presumably represents the same deity. On both sides a female figure clad in an ornamental petticoat is standing with a water vessel in each hand, the left being raised and the right stretched downward.

In the lower portion of the slab separated from the upper part by a horizontal band of scrollwork we find on each side of the spout opening a dwarf pilaster and a lotus rosette. Over the latter and at the side of the female figures the inscription is cut being distributed over two panels of equal size (10 high by 11 wide). The whole is comprised within various decorative borders.

The proper right panel contains nine lines of writing and has moreover one word written vertically on the ledge next the female figure. The left panel has eight lines and a short ninth line. The letters are from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ in size. Owing to long exposure the inscribed surface has become considerably worn so that many of the *alifas* have lost their original shape. Besides the language of the document is as ungrammatical as in most inscriptions of the kind.

The inscription is dated in the 27th year of a Raja, the first part of whose name is unfortunately lost. As the name ends in *rajan* we may assume that he was a ruler of Chamba. The second portion of the epigraph records the erection of the fountain slab. The name of the founder is lost. The concluding portion consists of two stanzas of the usual kind.

TEXT

आ स्मिन् । प्रवर्धमान कल्याण-श्री (1 2) वर्म देव पाद विजय रा
(1 3) ज्ये वर्तमाने स्वस्वर सप्तविंशति (1 4) तमे इतः सवत् २७ भाद्रप (1 5) दृक् ति
अमावास्या चन्द्रदिने (1 6) हस्त नक्षत्रे भटारक श्री उ (1 7) विक्तात्मज श्री भट्टासन भा
(1 8) र्या कन्ननि कार्यं तथा सु य (1 9) कार्यं महम्मसुत श्री ख स्नेन (1 10)
पितु मातु सम्भवेन परलोका (1 11) य वरुण देव स्थापित न च (1 12) वरुणात्पर देव ।
न च वरुणा (1 13) त्वर तप । न च वरुणापर धर्म (1 14) तृण लोकेषु विद्युत । गवा
कोटि प्र (1 15) दानेन ग्रहण सोम सूर्ययो । सम (1 16) [तुल्य फल] दधि । वरुण यः
प्रति (1 17) दधेत मिति श्रेयास्तु घट (1 18) ज नीलकेन

CORRECTED PLADING

आ स्मिन् । प्रवर्धमान कल्याण-श्री (1 2) वर्म देव पाद विजय रा
(1 3) ज्ये वर्तमाने स्वस्वर सप्तविंशति (1 4) तमे इतः सवत् २७ भाद्रप (1 5) दृक् ति
अमावास्या चन्द्रदिने हस्त नक्षत्रे भटारक श्री उ (1 7) विक्तात्मज
(1 8) (1 9)
(1 10) मातु पितु सम्भवेन परलोका (1 11) य वरुण देव स्थापित ।
न (1 12) वरुणात्पर देवो न वरुणा (1 13) त्वर तप । न वरुणात्पर धर्म (1 14) तृण
लोकेषु विद्युत । गवा कोटि प्र (1 15) दानेन ग्रहण सोम सूर्ययो । सम (1 16) [तुल्य
फल देवो वरुणो य प्रतिष्ठित ॥ इति प्रयास्तु । घटितो ज नीलकेन ॥

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the increasing fortunate reign of victory of His Highness the illustrious . . . varman of divine descent in the twenty seventh year, in figures in the year 27 [the month of] Bhādrapada the dark fortnight on the lunar day of the New Moon, Monday, at [the conjunction of the moon with] the lunar mansion Hasta, the son of the Blatant and the illustrious Ubika . . .

has erected [this] fountain stone (*śilā* of Varuna) out of devotion to his parents [and] for the sake of the next world. No higher god than Varuna, no higher gain of penitence, no higher law than Varuna is known in the three worlds. By a gift of ten million cows at an eclipse of the moon or sun an equal merit is attained as by him who erects an image of Deva or Varuna. Thus may it be blessed. Made by Ja—mlaka.

No 37 —BASUA FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATES XXXI AND XXXII c)

Basua (map Baswa) is a village half a mile to the north of Bagar (map Bagore) and belongs to the *pargana* of that name which forms part of the *Caukhiasarai*. The stone on which the inscription is cut measures 2' 10" in height and 2' 5" in width. The proper right end is missing. The upper portion of the slab contains three panels with rudely carved figures. In the centre is Varuna with his trident and lotus flower. To his left are the figures of a male and a female worshipping a *linga* and to his right a horseman. These three panels are separated from the lower portion by a horizontal border of irregular design with a pair of birds in the centre. These, as usual, are placed over the spout which is fluted by two clumsy pilasters. The whole is enclosed within a double serpent border.

The inscription consists of three lines of writing, of which the first measuring 1' 10" and the third, 1' 8½" respectively, are above and the third, 1' 6½" in length beneath the figured panel. Presumably a few syllables are lost in the beginning of each line, where the stone is broken. The letters are so badly executed as to render their meaning uncertain throughout. Most of them are indeed wholly unrecognizable and only in a few places is it possible to recognize a few words. The first line seems to commence with *parama-bhadrarāja-maharajadhirāja*. The next two *devas* must represent the Rāja's name, the second pair of which is possibly *deva*. Then follows the word *śalyana* after which we expect *śalya*. The word *śalya* in the same line is still legible and is apparently followed by the past participle *śāpita* (for *śāpita*). The remainder of the inscription is illegible. It does not seem to contain any date.

No 38 —BATRUNDI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATES XXXVII d AND XXXVIII)

Near the village of Batundi (map Batundi), 1½ miles south east of Lohitkri, a carved stone, evidently a fragment of a fountain slab was found placed on a wall. The *panhiyar* to which it once belonged is asserted by local tradition to have been wilfully destroyed on the same occasion as the Mul Kihri one namely at the time

of the war with Basohli in the second half of the 18th century. At present the stone is preserved in the Chamba State Museum (Cat No A 12).

On the fragment which measures 2' 2" in height and 5' 7" in width, two rows of rudely carved figures are partly preserved. The centre of the upper row is occupied by Varuna seated on a couch inside an ornamental chapel. On each side a female figure probably a degenerated river goddess is standing with a vessel in each hand. At the two ends of the row we find a clumsily carved horseman. Of that to the proper left only the head now remains.

Between the two rows of figures there runs a horizontal band in the midst of which there are the two birds with interlaced necks commonly met on fountain stone. Immediately beneath in the centre of the lower row, there is a partly broken figure of uncertain meaning perhaps derived from an Atlant. On each side of it we find some six birds placed one over the other¹. The proper right portion of the lower row of figures consists of two panels: one with an archer and the other with two fighting soldiers armed with sword and shield. The left hand side which is missing presumably contained similar figures. The whole of these sculptures are enclosed within a double ornamental border.

Between this border and the horsemen of the upper row there are two inscribed panels measuring 1' 1" in height by 4" in width. That to the proper right, containing fourteen lines of writing, is much obliterated, on that to the left only two lines can be traced. It is apparently dated in the 7th year of the reign of some Raja whose royal titles can still be traced in the first three lines but whose name is unfortunately lost. For the rest, only a few letters can be read. Judging from the carvings, the Batrundi stone may be classed with the later type of fountain-slabs. It probably belongs to the 12th century.

PLX

परम भ[क्षरक] (1 2) महाराजा[धिरा] (1 3) [ज परमेश्वर] (1 4) श्री
 (1 5) विजय [रा] (1 6) श्री सवत् ७ (1 7) श्री ज
 [1 8]
 (1 11) कहु तथा (1 12) रक

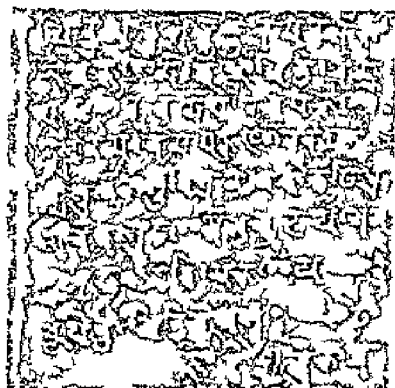
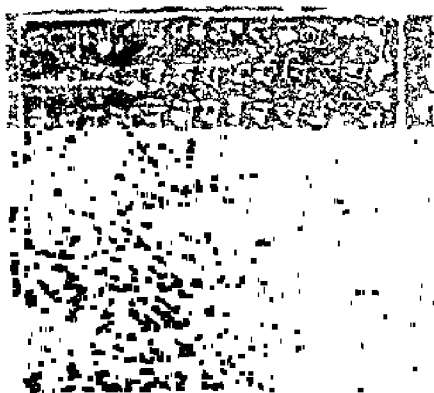
No. 39—NAL FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATE XXXV)

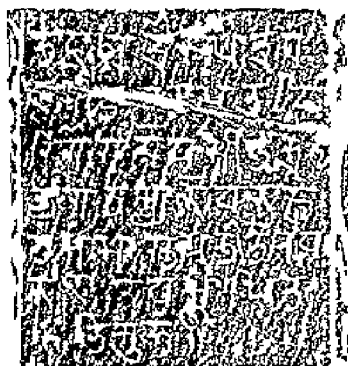
In the summer of 1906 a fragment of an inscribed fountain slab was discovered on the wall of a field belonging to the Ratia Phunka at the village of Nal name distich beneath Tria the headquarters of the *pargana* of the same name, which forms part of the Gurh *razaral*. The stone probably belonged to a fountain a short distance above the field where it was found. Local tradition holds the place to have been the site of a Pania castle. The inscription is now placed in the State Museum (Cat No A, 17). The fragment, which measures 2' 6" in height and 2" in width is evidently a portion of the proper left half of the original stone, which must have been of considerable size. It is carved with three rows of clumsy figures, separated by horizontal bands of decorative design. The figures are placed in sun panels

¹ The figure is on a wall of fountain slab at Tria a mile or so (E of D v n 10th) (E, n 11)

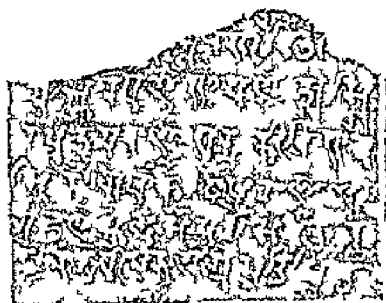
Bharata Fountain Inscription



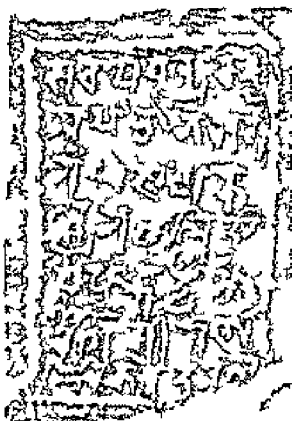
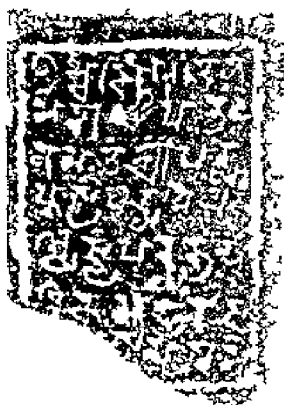
Sya Dudha Fountain Inscription



Mangara Lionan Inscription



Bento Puhai Fountain Inscription



Sulu Fountain Inscription



etwe n dwa f p l a s e s T e c a n g s e n f e r o n w o k n a n s h p a n d n u c l
defaced o n g t o l o n g e x p o s u r e I t l p o w e h e o a l r o n n i s
female are p a t h y p e s e r v d t h e f e n e m l a c l e e n V a e a t e o
a c o u c h o f h e o n e l e g a n s i b e t c e d t o t h e o f h f n l f i e I n
t h e c e n t a l o w w e h a v e t o t e p o p e e f t t w o f e n e s c u v n e a t e o t
s h a l l b e t e e n t h e m T h e m a l e f e n e s t h u r o k p o s l r e p r e s e n t n a c c o
w o r s m a n O t h e o v e m o t r o w o n l y t h e a d s o f h r h o u r e s e T o
t h e p o p e e f t r u n s a v e t c a s e p e n t h o c

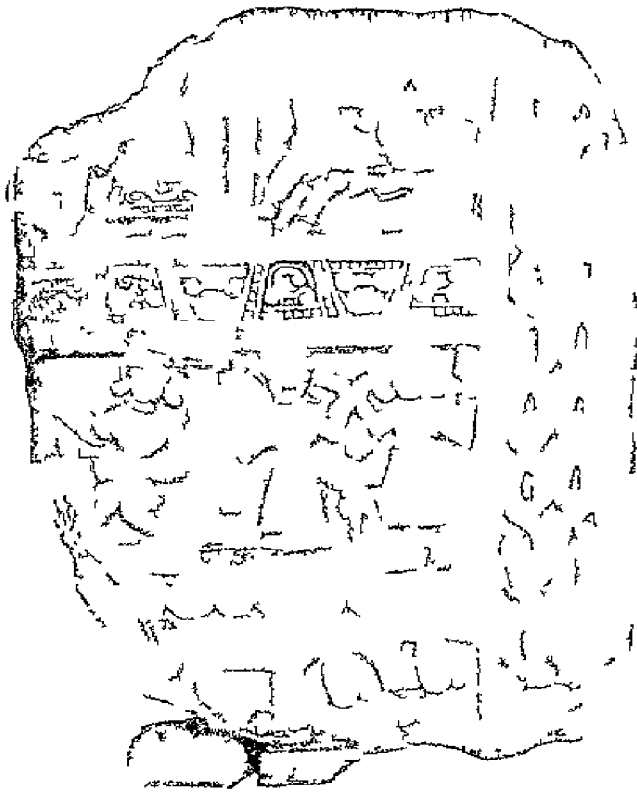


Fig 27

The n e c t i o n c o n s t s o f t h e e n n o s l o t h e o n r d i n c l
e p a e t l e r o w s o f s l p t u e s I f t h a l f i t h e h a e l o t t l
t h e p o p e r l t f o f t h e t o c T h e p e s e c o o n o f e f t w o l i n e s
n e a s r l o t h a t o f t h e t d n l l T e t t o n e t o n e g l t
e o f a c u s y e t y p e T h e f i s t l n e v d e v c o n e l t e d a v e l o e l f o
t e c a r o f a c c e s o n o f t h e n o n o o f u n f o t a t e l l o t T h e
r e m a n n g p o o r e a d —देव प्रवचमान कल्याण वि[ल]य गज्य I t e s e c o n d l i n e w e r e a d
प्रतीहार सुहृन्क p p o t h y f o l l o w e d h e d e t a l m e a n o t h e r o f f e c l
H n a m e s e e m s o l e s h a n i k I n a l y w e l a t o l g a n T e l a s t l i n e I a n
n a b l e t o t e r j e t T o h e c o e l d o l c h i n t e a s e t h a t
c o n t a s l e n c e (s) o f t h s o c o (l l o l e b w e c l

Siva Dudhai inscription would be a generation posterior to that of Siva and consequently belong to the beginning of the 12th century.

TEXT

मह नुद्दीक पौत्र-ध (1 2) गसोह पुत्र फि (1 3) रि गोग दव सोह भ्यातृ (1 4)
व्याग तस्यार्थं वरुण कृ (1 5) त समार भय भीतव व (1 6) रुण देव स्थापित (1 7) इति शुभम् ।

CORRECTED READING

मह नुद्दीक पौत्र-ध 1 2) गसोह पुत्र फि (1 3) रि गोग दव सोह भ्यातृ
(1 4) व्याग तस्यार्थं वरुण कृ (1 5) त समार भय भीतव व (1 6) रुण देव स्थापित । (1 7) इति
शुभम् ॥

TRANSLATION

Phm Goga Deva and S ha the sons of Dhana rba the grandsons of Blatta Ludiauka have made [this] fountain stone (for Varuna) for the sake of their brother Tyaga fearing with the fear of excellence they have erected [this] to obtain stone (for god Vnauna) Blessed be it

No 41.—MANGALOA FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATE XXXVI)

The village of Mangalua lies about 1 or 2 miles above the State *lath* of Loh Tikri and belongs to the *perga* of that name. An inscribed fragment of a fountain slab was discovered in 1907 in the Mangalua Nala at a distance of about 500 above the village. It measures 1' 2" in height and 2' 1" in width and must have formed part of the proper left side of the stone. It is carved in the usual fashion. We notice part of a lotus rosette and the upper portion of a dwarf pilaster. The stone when entire must have contained two inscribed panels. That on the proper right with the first half of the inscription has become lost.

The upper portion of the remaining panel is partly destroyed. The preserved part consists of seven lines but of the first line only one *aksara* remains and of the second line only five are entire. The lines are about 10½" in length the *aksaras* about ¾" to 1" in height. The inscription as far as preserved consists of two stanzas in extremely corrupt Sanskrit. The second stanza occurs in several other fountain inscriptions.

TEXT

व (१) (1 2) अस्थिर जीवित (1 3) अस्थिर धन जीवण अस्थि
(1 4) र पुत्र दाराणा धर्म कीर्ति जय 1) स्थिर ॥ शवा कीर्ति प्रदायण (1 6) अक्षय सूर्य
सोमयो समस्तु (1 7) फल दवो वरुण य पतिष्ठित

TRANSLATION

Unstable are life and unstable are wealth and wealth
unstable is [the possession] of son and wife. Only the fame and glory of pious
stable. By a gift of ten millions of coins at an eclipse of the sun or moon an equal
merit [is attained as by him] who erects [an image of Deity Varuna]

No 42 —BENTO PUHALI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATE XXXVI)

Bento is the name of a *puhal*, or shepherd station (*puhal*=shepherd) situated about two miles east of Kilā, in Pong, on the road which following the right side of the Malvāh Nālā leads to Zangskar by the Sinkal Pass. The place is only inhabited by some herdsmen from Kilā during the months of Savan Bhādon and Asu. In the cattle pens a few carved fountain slabs, probably removed from some neighbouring spring have been set up for worship. One of these bears a rudely incised inscription distributed over two panels of equal size (9 × 7"), each containing seven short lines of writing. The letters which are very irregular and badly formed measure from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 in height. Of the proper right panel one of the lower corners is broken, causing the loss of the first three letters of the seventh line. The missing portion can be restored with certainty.

The inscription is evidently composed by some individual who, without possessing any knowledge of Sanskrit vaguely remembered certain expressions from official documents written in that language. These wrongly spelled but still recognizable, he has used at random.

We must suppose that to its author the inscription did convey some meaning but I have failed to gather it. In lines 5-8 we find the usual royal titles and in line 8 the word *varma* can be read but it is preceded by only one syllable which bears some resemblance to *dha*. The word *lanya* (?) at the end of the same line is perhaps meant for *rajya* and *camot* in the beginning of the next line for *samvat*. The words *vajaya* i.e. *vajaya* and *kalyana* i.e. *kalyana* in lines 10-11 ought in reversed order, to precede the word *rajya*. In lines 11-12 we read *Lallita deva* from which perhaps we may infer that the stone was erected in the reign of Lalita varman of Chamla. If so the date of the inscription would be about the third quarter of the 12th century. In lines 12-13 we find *Pangatya mandala* which confirms our conclusion that the ancient name of Lang is mentioned in the Salhi inscription as Pangati. This as far as I can see is the only point of interest of the record under discussion.

TEXT

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ ओं न (1-2) सो गणपतये (1-3) नम ओं श्री परमे (1-4) पुज्या परमे विद्यक
(1-5) ल्यज्य परमे भट (1-6) रिक्क महाराजा (1-7) [धिराज] परमे (1-8) शरा धर्म कन्व (1-9)
चमात नगरी (1-10) न विजाय क (1-11) ल्यन ललित दे (1-12) व पङ्कत्व म (1-13) गङ्गे ओ
श्रेण (1-14) पिरिक सुत (?) ल

No 43 —SUKOI FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATE XXXVII)

In the village of Suko half a mile south east of Loh Tikri the headquarters of the *pargana* of the same name in the Canju valley a fragment of an inscribed fountain slab was recovered in the summer of 1900 on the flat roof of a house. Presumably its original site was at a fountain close by over which another carved stone of inferior workmanship is now placed, an evident imitation of the Bharara.

(2) Dadege Fount on Stone



HEIGHT 3

(3) Fila Fokri Fountain Stone



HEIGHT 3

(c) Piri Fount on Stone



HEIGHT 2.10M

Eaträndi Fount on Stone



HEIGHT 2

one (No 38) It also exhibits the figure of Varuna seated on a low bench between two standing female figures, one of which is here accompanied by a child

As to the inscribed fragment it measures 1' 8" in height and 2' 3" in width When entire, the stone was probably 2' 6" high and 3' 10" wide The panel which contains the inscription (6' X 9') must have stood immediately over the water spout, and was flanked by two lotus rosettes That on the proper left side is lost together with one-half of the inscribed panel and portions of the ornamental borders

The inscription consists of eight lines, the first four of five syllables of each of which are lost The missing portion can partly be restored with the aid of the Bharua and Loh-Tikri inscriptions which contain the same district Besides the record must have mentioned the name and lineage of the founder of the

'Varuna deva' but here restoration is out of the question It does not appear to have contained a date but may be assigned to the 12th century, or account of its character Medial *c* and *o* are expressed by a stroke and flourish respectively which are placed over the *also a* The Sukor inscription cannot be far removed in date from the Loh-Tikri one which was erected in A.D. 1114 The carving is superior to that of the Bharua stone and the engraving of the letters too is more careful Their size averages from 1" to 1 1/2"

TEXT

[अ] गरुड पौत्र ह्य (1 2)

यौ ह्य मित्रेन । (1 3)

सचिकेन । पर (1 1) [नोकार्य वरुण] देवस्थापित (1 5)

[ग]वा कीदृष्टि प्रदाणि

(1 6) [न ग्रहणे] सूर्य सोमयु । सम (1 7) [तुभ्य फल] दे[वि] । वरुण दे (1 8) न [स्थापित]

इति शुभम्

No 44—BHATKARA FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATE XXXVIII)

The hamlet of Bhatkara is situated some three miles north-west of Loh-Tikri on the road from that place to Tisi between the villages Garphani (map Garpari) and Rundal (map Rundaul) Here a broken fountain slab was discovered in the summer of 1905 which I took to Chamba and have since placed in the State Museum (Cat No A 15) The stone which measures 3' 2" in height and 3' 8" in width is decorated with three lotus rosettes of which one is placed over the spout hole and two at the sides of it Of the latter that to the proper left is missing The inscription is cut on two nearly square panels on both sides of the upper lotus That to the proper right containing the first half of the record is almost entirely defaced only a few letters being still traceable Of the left hand panel the first and last lines are partly destroyed and several of the remaining *also a*s injured Assuming that the number of the lines was the same on both panels, the inscription when entire, would have consisted of twelve lines The letters are rather shallow, but well defined and good sized (1 to 2")

The preserved portion of the epigraph does not contain a date, presumably it is lost with the first half of the inscription On account of the character I am inclined to assign it to the 11th century The 7 presents an early type and the *ru*

In the last line I read the word *ru* (1 12)

is very similar to that of *Vidagdha's* copper plate grant (No 15) The *n* and *s* on the contrary, have the later shape of the 11th and 12th centuries The medial *e* is expressed by a stroke over the *a/su/a* The *na* has a peculiar form which is also found in one of the *Tui* image inscriptions (No 19)

The inscription records the erect on of the fountain slab on which it is incised The name of the founder is apparently *Dhana* which may be an abbreviation of *Dhananjaya*¹ The word *parma* (read *parana*) *mahatman* which precedes the past participle *sthapitam* is evidently an epithet The expression *samsara bhaya bhirmna* is synonymous with the *samsara bhaya bhirmna* of the *Dadva* and *Bhrkund* fountain inscriptions (Nos 20 and 21) with which one might group the epigraph under discussion in the absence of any clear indication of its date

TEXT

[सु]त-धन (1 2) परम महामना (1 3) स्थापित वरुण (1 4) तेन समार-भय-
[1 5] भोरुणा भार्या धने [1 6] न [स]

CORRECTED READING

सुत धन (1 2) परम महामना (1 3) स्थापितो वरुण (1 4) स्तेन समार भय
(1 5) भोरुणा भार्या धने (1 6) न स

TRANSLATION

This fountain slab (*lit* Varuna) has been erected by the son of the very eminent *Dhana*,² fearing with the fear of existence with the money of his wife

No 45 -HUNDAN FOUNTAIN INSCRIPTION

(PLATE XXXVIII)

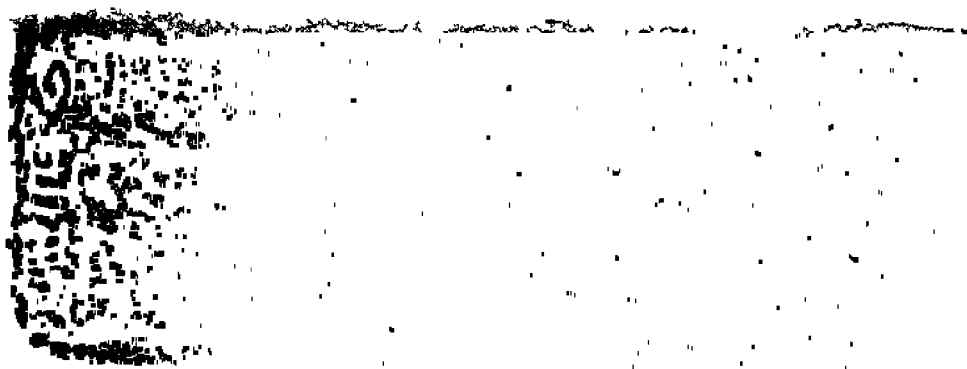
At Hundan, a village 5 miles east of Kilar in Pangy, there is a fragment of an inscribed fountain slab, measuring 2 10" in width and 1 8 in height which is held in great veneration by the people of the neighbourhood The fragment which must have formed the proper right half of the stone when entire has no figures but the usual decoration of conventional lotus flowers Evidently there were three lotus rosettes, one placed over the spout and two at the sides of it To the proper right of the central lotus we find an inscribed panel which measures 1 3¹ in width and 4¹ in height There is reason to suppose that the missing left hand portion of the stone contained a similar panel so that the second half of the inscription is lost

The preserved part consists of three lines of writing The letters are on an average 1 in size but owing to long exposure the sharp outlines are lost so that it is often hard to establish their true value The language moreover, is by no means grammatically correct The inscription contains merely a date but as the figure of the *mbh* has been omitted it is useless for chronological purposes It is dated in the 4th year of a ruler of the name of *Salivikrama*

¹ The name *Dhana* *jaya* (spelled *Dhana* *jaya*) occur in the copper plate grant of *Asva* (No 26 l 17)

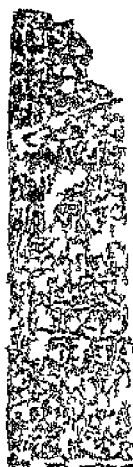
² That *Dhana* is the name of the founder follows from the preserved *suta* The word *suta* to be connected with the following *parmanamahatman* though the construction is hardly grammatical We may compare in compounds like *kalatalsuta* (No 32 l 19) and *Vijayesvara* (No 31 l 21) in which the second member is the

Hundan Fountain Inscription



SCALE 0.50

Ba and Fou-tan Inscription



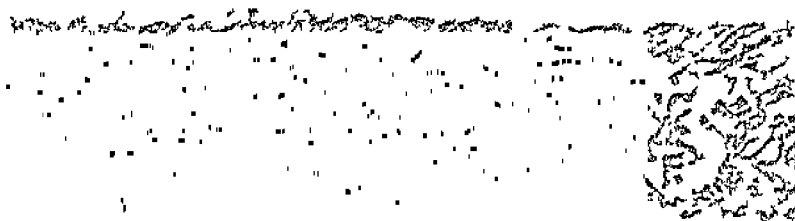
SCALE 0.50

Ehathara Fountain Inscription



SCALE 0.50

Ghumra Temple Inscription



SCALE 0.50

TEXT.

श्रीं स्वस्ति । श्रीं श्री-सालिविक्रम-सहाय्यति-विज- (1 2) य-नाम्ने । संवत् [च^१]तुर्थ
सित×प×च विंशै य वि- (1 3) श्री । श्री-शाल ममे गुहवर मन्त्रपुराच(?) । स

CORRECTED READING

श्रीं स्वस्ति । श्री श्री-सालिविक्रम-सहाय्यति-विज (1. 2) य-नाम्ने संवत् चतुर्थे सिते पक्ष
चतुर्थी श्री (1 3) श्री । अषाढ-भासे गुहवारे (The remainder is unintelligible.)

No 46—GHUMSĀL ŚIVĀLAYA INSCRIPTION.

(PLATE XXXVIII)

The hamlet of Ghumsāl is situated near Sutkar the main village of Trehtā. It contains a small stone temple, 6' 6" high and 4' wide, which is dedicated to Śiva.

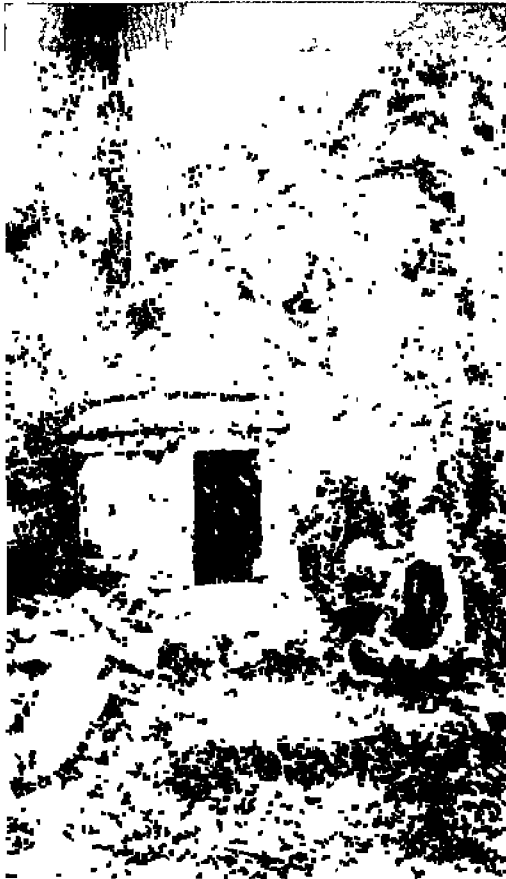


Fig. 28 Śivālaya at Ghumsāl.

The object of worship is a *linga*. The roof of the building was ruined in the earthquake of 11th April 1903. On the lintel over the entrance (2½ long and 3½ high) is an inscription in two lines, which measure 11" and 10" in length respectively. The letters are good sized (½ to ¾) and distinct. The language is corrupt Sanskrit. In the first line we have to read *sthanam* instead of *sthana* and in the second line *ītam* and *sutrādharma* instead of *īritavya* and *sutrādharma*. The term *pajram* I suppose to be a caste-name. Possibly the inscription belongs to the Muhammadan period as some of the letters, especially the looped *da* and *ra* and the ligature *tra* with downward stroke to the right exhibit a late type. It may belong to the 13th or 14th century.

TEXT

श्री-पञ्चमणि कुक्कटेव स्थान (1 2) करितव्य सुत्रद्वय पञ्च ग[रु]

TRANSLATION

The shrine (*sthana*) or the illustrious Pajram Kuladeva made by the stone masons Paju and Gangu

No. 47—SAHO IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(PLATES XXVIX AND XI)

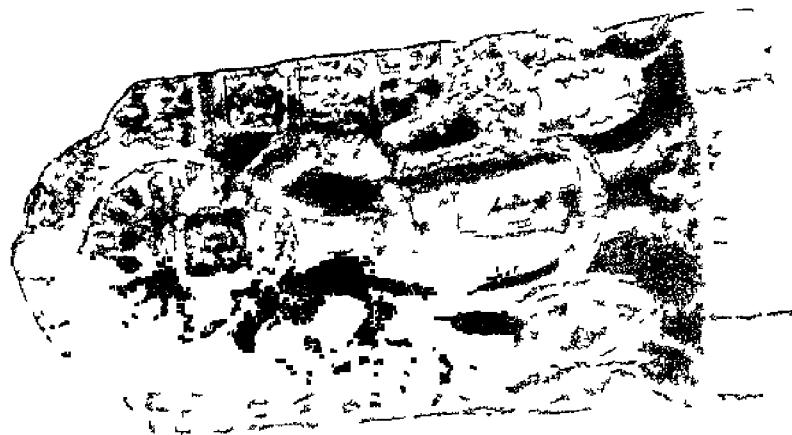
Opposite the temple of Candikesh (Skr. *Candika śekhara*) at Saho there is a small shrine (8 11 by 8 6 outside), containing an inscribed stone statuette of Vishnu (height 1 8½). The god has three faces the side ones being those of a lion and a lion apparently an allusion to the Narasimha and Vamana *avatāras*. The halo is besmeared with Ganges sand (*garuḡḡa*). The deity is standing with two of his four hands resting on the heads of a pair of miniature chowrie carriers. Of the two remaining hands the right one holds a lotus-flower and the left one is broken. The bust of a female figure said to represent Lakṣmī issues from the base between his feet. In most points the image resembles the inscribed brass statuette of Vishnu from Tatehpur Kangra district, now preserved in the Lahore Museum.¹ Behind the chowrie bearers a second pair of attendants are visible. The rest of the work is carved with miniature figures all of which are more or less defaced. The two four armed figures seated on both sides of the head of Vishnu appear to be Brahmā and Śiva thus indicating him as the principal person of the Hindu triad. The remaining figures I take to represent the ten incarnations of Vishnu. For his right we distinguish the fish and the tortoise. Evidently the latter animal was not known to the artist by sight as on the sculpture it looks curiously like a horse. But we have met with another example of such a phantastical turtle in the Chambs sculpture.² Above the halo we notice Rama (?) and Buddha to the proper right and Parasurama and Kalki to the proper left. The other figures are too indistinct to be identified.

The base of this statuette which is carved in three facets, the central one 5½" and the side ones 1½ wide by 2" high, bears an inscription of four lines. The

¹ Cf. *J. R. A. S.* for 1904 p. 109.

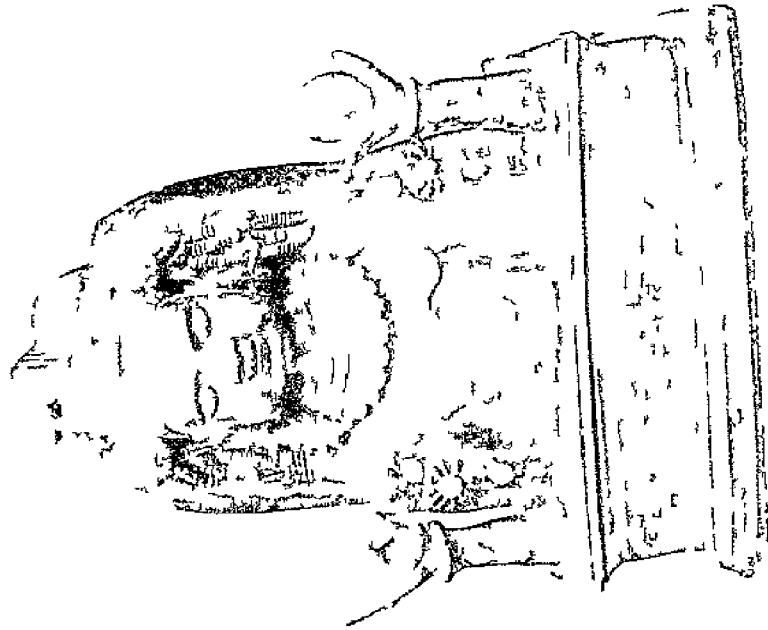
² Cf. above p. 93 and plate XXXIV a.

(a) Image of Venu at Salbu



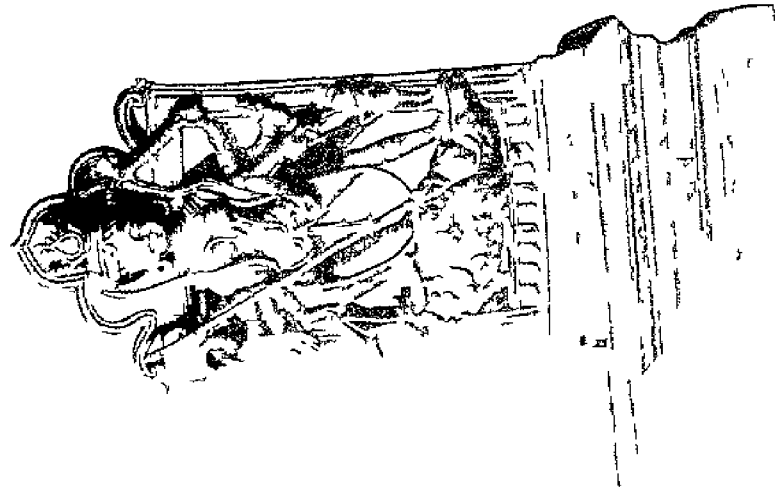
11

(b) Image of Siva at Husar



12

(c) Image of Ila at Maraul



13

letters are small (५') and partly defaced especially on the side facets. On that to the proper right the lettering has almost completely disappeared. The inscription was evidently dated in the regnal year of the ruling chief as appears from the royal titles in the first line but his name is unfortunately lost. The name of the donor of the statuette which I read *Ukhalana* occurs in the third line, and accordingly the image itself is denoted as *Ukhalana stam*. It is interesting to find here an instance of the usage of naming an image after its founder of which numerous examples can be quoted from the Rajatarangini.¹ Another point of interest is that the image is said to have been set up—*Rudra salita*—which apparently means at the temple of Rudra. This name no doubt indicates the temple of Candrasakhi, opposite which the Vishnu image is enshrined. It thus affords another proof of the antiquity of that place as the Vishnu statuette certainly goes back to the pre-Mughal period.

PUNJ

— — — [परम] महारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर — — — — (1 2) — — —
[राज्य] सवत ६ — — — — — — — — (1 3) — — — [नि]क श्री उकुकागिन^२
उकुकागस्वामि प्रति (1 4) [मा] प्रति, छिता रुद्र मन्त्रिता ॥

TRANSLATION

In the 6th year of the reign of the supreme prince the king of kings the supreme lord [this] image of *Ukhalana stam* was erected by the illustrious *Ukhalana* near [the temple of] Rudra.

NO. 18—MARKULA IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(PLATE XXXIX c AND d.)

One of the most famous temples of Chamba State is that of Kahl at the village of Markula or Udrupin (map Odapur) in Lahul. The goddess is usually indicated as *Markula Devi* from the name of the village. Mr. A. H. Francke informs me that the Buddhists of Lahul worship the goddess of Markula as *Do rje phag mo* (Skt. *Tara caraku*). It is interesting to know that in Nepal also this goddess is identified with Bhavani, the spouse of Bhava (Siva). The idol worshipped in this temple is an insignificant and ugly brass statuette with eyes of silver and is 2 1/2 high including the pedestal which is 6" in height. It represents the goddess standing on the prostrated Buffalo demon (*Marisusura*) whom she pierces with her trident. On his body the heads and paws of no less than three lions are visible which are evidently assisting the goddess in destroying the Asura (cf. above p. 131 plate XIII). Beneath the *Marisusura* we notice a row of ten heads probably the remains of other demons slain by the goddess.

¹ Cf. above p. 17.

This temple is referred to by the name of *Maharaja Candrasakhi* on a copper plate of Raja Balabhadra dated Vikrama 109 (169 B) Sutra 11 Bhadrastamba Asta 1065 C.C. 1901.

² The *akhalana* which I read here resembles very much the *akhalana* mentioned in the following *Ukhalana stam*.

The *akhalana* is apparently on the right.

³ Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India* 1901, p. 106. Cf. also the *Tibet. Travel* by D. G. (London 1881) p. 109, p. 110, p. 111, p. 112, p. 113, p. 114, p. 115, p. 116, p. 117, p. 118, p. 119, p. 120, p. 121, p. 122, p. 123, p. 124, p. 125, p. 126, p. 127, p. 128, p. 129, p. 130, p. 131, p. 132, p. 133, p. 134, p. 135, p. 136, p. 137, p. 138, p. 139, p. 140, p. 141, p. 142, p. 143, p. 144, p. 145, p. 146, p. 147, p. 148, p. 149, p. 150, p. 151, p. 152, p. 153, p. 154, p. 155, p. 156, p. 157, p. 158, p. 159, p. 160, p. 161, p. 162, p. 163, p. 164, p. 165, p. 166, p. 167, p. 168, p. 169, p. 170, p. 171, p. 172, p. 173, p. 174, p. 175, p. 176, p. 177, p. 178, p. 179, p. 180, p. 181, p. 182, p. 183, p. 184, p. 185, p. 186, p. 187, p. 188, p. 189, p. 190, p. 191, p. 192, p. 193, p. 194, p. 195, p. 196, p. 197, p. 198, p. 199, p. 200, p. 201, p. 202, p. 203, p. 204, p. 205, p. 206, p. 207, p. 208, p. 209, p. 210, p. 211, p. 212, p. 213, p. 214, p. 215, p. 216, p. 217, p. 218, p. 219, p. 220, p. 221, p. 222, p. 223, p. 224, p. 225, p. 226, p. 227, p. 228, p. 229, p. 230, p. 231, p. 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607, p. 608, p. 609, p. 610, p. 611, p. 612, p. 613, p. 614, p. 615, p. 616, p. 617, p. 618, p. 619, p. 620, p. 621, p. 622, p. 623, p. 624, p. 625, p. 626, p. 627, p. 628, p. 629, p. 630, p. 631, p. 632, p. 633, p. 634, p. 635, p. 636, p. 637, p. 638, p. 639, p. 640, p. 641, p. 642, p. 643, p. 644, p. 645, p. 646, p. 647, p. 648, p. 649, p. 650, p. 651, p. 652, p. 653, p. 654, p. 655, p. 656, p. 657, p. 658, p. 659, p. 660, p. 661, p. 662, p. 663, p. 664, p. 665, p. 666, p. 667, p. 668, p. 669, p. 670, p. 671, p. 672, p. 673, p. 674, p. 675, p. 676, p. 677, p. 678, p. 679, p. 680, p. 681, p. 682, p. 683, p. 684, p. 685, p. 686, p. 687, p. 688, p. 689, p. 690, p. 691, p. 692, p. 693, p. 694, p. 695, p. 696, p. 697, p. 698, p. 699, p. 700, p. 701, p. 702, p. 703, p. 704, p. 705, p. 706, p. 707, p. 708, p. 709, p. 710, p. 711, p. 712, p. 713, p. 714, p. 715, p. 716, p. 717, p. 718, p. 719, p. 720, p. 721, p. 722, p. 723, p. 724, p. 725, p. 726, p. 727, p. 728, p. 729, p. 730, p. 731, p. 732, p. 733, p. 734, p. 735, p. 736, p. 737, p. 738, p. 739, p. 740, p. 741, p. 742, p. 743, p. 744, p. 745, p. 746, p. 747, p. 748, p. 749, p. 750, p. 751, p. 752, p. 753, p. 754, p. 755, p. 756, p. 757, p. 758, p. 759, p. 760, p. 761, p. 762, p. 763, p. 764, p. 765, p. 766, p. 767, p. 768, p. 769, p. 770, p. 771, p. 772, p. 773, p. 774, p. 775, p. 776, p. 777, p. 778, p. 779, p. 780, p. 781, p. 782, p. 783, p. 784, p. 785, p. 786, p. 787, p. 788, p. 789, p. 790, p. 791, p. 792, p. 793, p. 794, p. 795, p. 796, p. 797, p. 798, p. 799, p. 800, p. 801, p. 802, p. 803, p. 804, p. 805, p. 806, p. 807, p. 808, p. 809, p. 810, p. 811, p. 812, p. 813, p. 814, p. 815, p. 816, p. 817, p. 818, p. 819, p. 820, p. 821, p. 822, p. 823, p. 824, p. 825, p. 826, p. 827, p. 828, p. 829, p. 830, p. 831, p. 832, p. 833, p. 834, p. 835, p. 836, p. 837, p. 838, p. 839, p. 840, p. 841, p. 842, p. 843, p. 844, p. 845, p. 846, p. 847, p. 848, p. 849, p. 850, p. 851, p. 852, p. 853, p. 854, p. 855, p. 856, p. 857, p. 858, p. 859, p. 860, p. 861, p. 862, p. 863, p. 864, p. 865, p. 866, p. 867, p. 868, p. 869, p. 870, p. 871, p. 872, p. 873, p. 874, p. 875, p. 876, p. 877, p. 878, p. 879, p. 880, p. 881, p. 882, p. 883, p. 884, p. 885, p. 886, p. 887, p. 888, p. 889, p. 890, p. 891, p. 892, p. 893, p. 894, p. 895, p. 896, p. 897, p. 898, p. 899, p. 900, p. 901, p. 902, p. 903, p. 904, p. 905, p. 906, p. 907, p. 908, p. 909, p. 910, p. 911, p. 912, p. 913, p. 914, p. 915, p. 916, p. 917, p. 918, p. 919, p. 920, p. 921, p. 922, p. 923, p. 924, p. 925, p. 926, p. 927, p. 928, p. 929, p. 930, p. 931, p. 932, p. 933, p. 934, p. 935, p. 936, p. 937, p. 938, p. 939, p. 940, p. 941, p. 942, p. 943, p. 944, p. 945, p. 946, p. 947, p. 948, p. 949, p. 950, p. 951, p. 952, p. 953, p. 954, p. 955, p. 956, p. 957, p. 958, p. 959, p. 960, p. 961, p. 962, p. 963, p. 964, p. 965, p. 966, p. 967, p. 968, p. 969, p. 970, p. 971, p. 972, p. 973, p. 974, p. 975, p. 976, p. 977, p. 978, p. 979, p. 980, p. 981, p. 982, p. 983, p. 984, p. 985, p. 986, p. 987, p. 988, p. 989, p. 990, p. 991, p. 992, p. 993, p. 994, p. 995, p. 996, p. 997, p. 998, p. 999, p. 1000.

The Devi has the usual number of eight arms. Two of her right hands hold a trident (Skr *triśula*) and a wheel (Skr *cakṛa*). The third is stretched out in the gift bestowing attitude (Skr *varā mudrā*), and the fourth clasps the tail of the Buffalo demon. In her left hands she has the following objects: a mace (Skr *gada*), a thunderbolt (Skr *vajra*), a strangling string (Skr *paśa*) slung round the neck of a demon and a conch (Skr *śaṅkha*). The idol of Markula Devi, though held in great veneration by the Lahulis and neighbouring hill people, is decidedly of very inferior workmanship. A comparison with the image of Lakṣmī Devi at Brahmoī (plate VII), which is similar in subject, affords a striking illustration of the deterioration of Indian art during the intervening period.

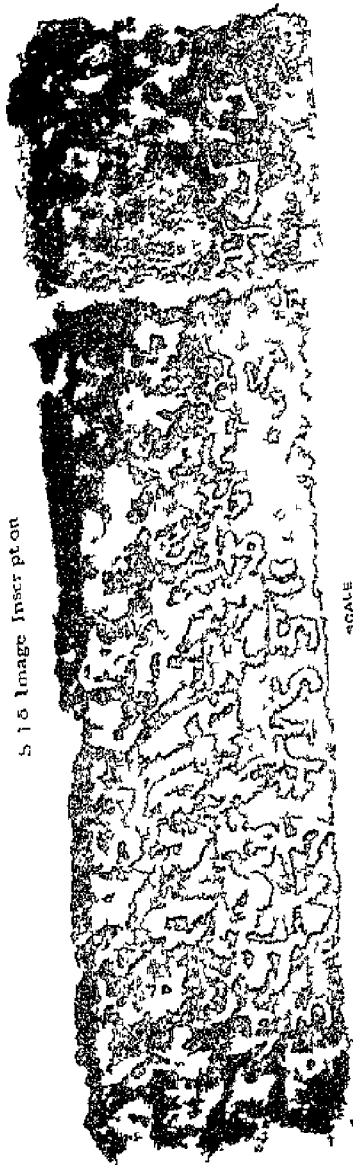
On the base of the statuette there is an inscription in six lines 8½ to 10 long. The third line consists only of six *akṣaras* occupying a space of 2". It will be noticed that the last two lines are more carefully engraved than the rest though the lettering is not so deep. It seems as if this was the original inscription and that the upper four lines have been added. This is the more probable, as the fifth line begins with *om śivasth*. There can be little doubt that lines 5 and 6 were written by the maker himself. The rest was probably added when the idol had reached its destination. First of all, we find the name of a Thakur Himāpala (either *Himāpala* or *Hemāpala*) who must have been the donor of the statuette. He was possibly an ancestor of the Thakurs of Tuloknath.

At the end of the fifth line we find four figures 1610 preceded by the *at śaṅka sa* (or *śam*?). The word *mūḍya* in the same line would suggest that those figures refer to the cost of the image. It is however, also possible that they indicate the year in which it was made. In the latter case the number 1645 could be referred either to the Śastra era or to the Kaliyuga, the corresponding year of the Christian era being 1569-70 or 1513-4 respectively. In either case the idol would belong to about the middle of the 16th century, and this conclusion fully agrees with its debased style.

The last line contains the name of the maker of the statuette. He calls himself Paṣṭīmanakī Jinaka, the former word is probably a caste name. He appears further to have been a resident of the town of Bhadarvāh called *Bhadravahāsa* in the inscription. This form differs but slightly from the Sanskrit form *Bhadravahāsa*, which is found in the Rājataranginī and a derivation of which *Bhadravahāśya* occurs in one of the Chamba copper plate charters (No. 25, l. 17). The first word of line 6 *Somadāsyā* stands perhaps for *Somadhrastā*. The first member of the compound I propose to connect with the tribal name *Saumatika* which is found in two copper plate inscriptions (No. 21, l. 3 and No. 25, l. 3) and may be derived from a form **Sumata*. There is reason to suppose that this name which survives in the place name Sumata, is the old designation of the Balor (Vallapurī) State. The Mukula inscription seems to confirm this conclusion as Bhadarvāh was from old considered as a dependency of Balor.

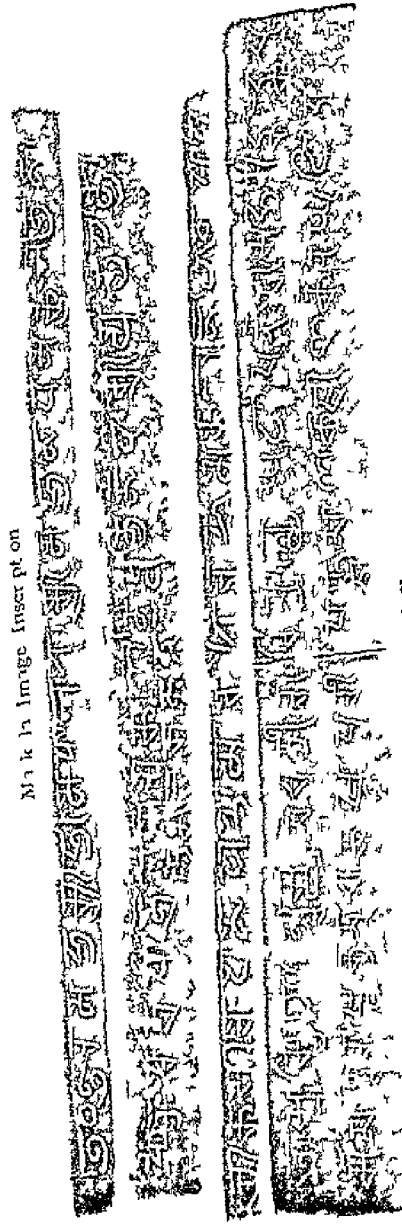
The inscription is composed in very corrupt Sanskrit, so that most of it is unintelligible. The substitution of *i* for *e* in *śivāya*, and perhaps in *Himāpala* also, points to the author of the inscription having been a Kasmirī.¹ The fourth line contains the

516 Image Inscription



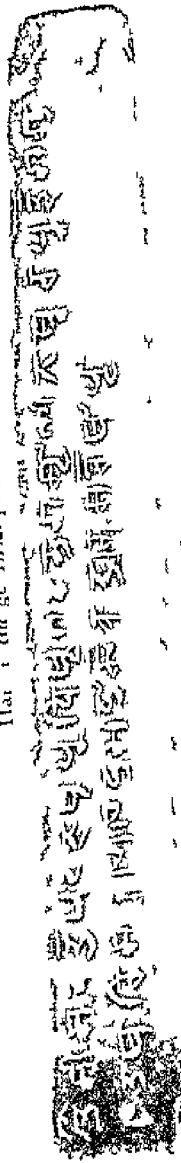
SCALE

517 Image Inscription



SCALE 75

518 Image Inscription



GA 8 75

TEXT

No. 49.—HARSAR IMAGE INSCRIPTION.

TEXT

In the year of bliss 58 the 14th of Jeth have the Bhagavani Nathu's sons Gangu and Kisanu erected this Mahadev at Arsar

^b The stroke over *da* is a diacritic for mean for a vowel mark, but for a rime lead *ug* or *ug*.

No 30 BRAHMOR ROCK INSCRIPTION

About 1½ miles from Brahmo on the main road leading to Chambi by way of Khanu a rivulet known by the name of Brahmini Devi flows down the mountain slope and crosses the road. On a boulder at the side of this streamlet we notice some rock cut *lingas* and three figures of deities. They represent the four armed Devi slaying the buffalo demon Siva standing in front of his bull with a trident in one and a fruit in the other hand and Ganesa holding in his four hands a rosary a hatchet a vessel of sweetmeats and some other object. It is interesting to note that these are exactly the three deities whose idols were erected at Brahmo by Meuvairman about A.D. 700 and were worshipped there up to the present day. (Cf. above p. 138). The *lingas* scattered among the Brahmo temples are also represented in these rock carvings but we find no representation of Narsingh whose temples are less conspicuous than those of Siva Manimahes and Laisan Devi. We learn from Yuzuka's copper plate grant (No. 14) that the idol of Narsingh was consecrated some two and a half centuries after the three just mentioned. From its absence on the Brahmani boulder I infer that these rock cut figures date back to a time intervening between A.D. 700 and 950.



No 29 Rock inscription near Brahmo

Over the figures, and separated from them by a deep horizontal groove there is a Tibetan rock inscription in one line 3-10 long consisting of eleven large sized letters from 3" to 6" in height. The letters are deeply cut and distinct except the last one which is broken by a rent in the stone. Mr. A. H. Francke of the

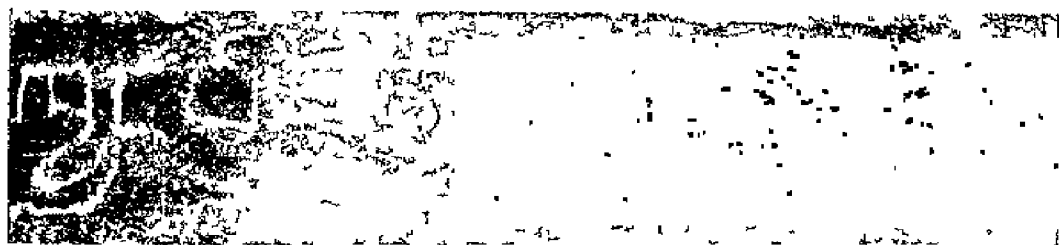
Moravian Mission, has favoured me with the following transcript and translation of this inscription

TEXT

ཐུང་པོ་ལྷོ་ཐུང་པོ་ལྷོ་པལ་པལ་པལ་པལ་ Khyu po jo nu phags ba[s]

TRANSLATION

'The august younger prince of the Garuda Lords'



No. 30 Tibetan rock inscription near Brahmor

Mr. Francke adds the following note —

'A noble family called ཐུང་པོ་ལྷོ་ 'Garuda Lords' is still in existence in the neighbourhood of Shigatse or Gyangtse as I am told. They derive their name from the figure of a Garuda on a rock in the vicinity of their castle ཐུང་པོ་ལྷོ་ is the sum of ཐུང་པོ་ 'younger brother' ལྷོ་ is an orthographic mistake for ལྷོ་

In a subsequent letter Mr. Francke explained that the article ལྷོ་ or ལྷོ་ only occurs in the oldest Tibetan inscriptions belonging to the period A.D. 650-800. The Brahmor rock inscription may therefore quite well date back to the 11th or 12th century of our era. In any case I feel inclined to assume that the inscription is later than the rock-cut figures. Over the inscription, however, there are some shallow and indistinct carvings apparently representing *olortens* (ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་), which seem to be contemporaneous with the epigraph.

I may note here that at the village of Govan below Brahmor there are some more rock inscriptions in Tibetan. But these consist merely of the usual magic formulae (Shi dharmas) the endless repetition of which is a characteristic of the Buddhism of Tibet. One in large letters (8 to 1) is the well-known ཨོཾ་ཨཱ་མཱ་མཱ་ "Om the jewel in the lotus h'm." Next we find an inscription of three *alstras*, measuring 2 to 3 which I read ཨོཾ་ཨཱ་མཱ་མཱ་. These merely represent three sacred syllables. Finally we find in somewhat smaller letters the formula ཨོཾ་ཨཱ་མཱ་མཱ་ three times repeated. It is an invocation to the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva.

In the Candiabhaṅga valley Tibetan inscriptions are more common, but in general they contain nothing but formulas like those just quoted. An epigraph¹ of historical interest was discovered in 1907 at Markula by the late Miss J. E. Duncan. It speaks of a Maṅśāl Monastery (མངས་ཤར་རྒྱལ་མཆོད་པུ་) From this it appears that at one time there existed at Markula a Buddhist convent, though it may simply refer to the temple of Markula Devi which is still indicated by that name. Mr. Francke informs me that the Buddhists of British Lahul perform pilgrimages to that place as well as to Tuloknath. In his opinion the inscription referred to is not more than three hundred years old and may be much more recent. It seems therefore that in lower Lahul Buddhism has had to recede before Hinduism.

Postscript—Mr. A. H. Francke has favoured me with the following additional note on the Brahmoī rock inscription.—

"My researches last year have convinced me that the Brahmoī inscription may be one of the most ancient (between 700 and 900) which we have in Tibetan. A prolonged study of Tibetan inscriptions has shown me that, although the forms of the Tibetan *dBucan* consonants have almost remained stable, the treatment of the vowel signs has undergone certain interesting changes.

In my article on a Lhasa inscription of 823 A.D. (prepared for the *Epigraphia Indica*) I made the following remark with regard to the *o* vowel sign: 'The *o* vowel sign prefers the left upper end of the consonant base with the exception of *cl* *lh* and *y*, where it is joined to the middle.' In inscriptions and documents of the 11th century, we find the *o* vowel sign only in rare cases on the left upper corner, and in the 15th century it is joined to the right upper end of the consonant base. After that time it is generally at some distance from the consonant base.

The u vowel sign—From the 7th to the 11th century, the *u* vowel sign was joined to the right lower end of the consonant base. Now it is found at some distance below it.

The perpendicular position of the subjoined *y* below the *lh* is also in favour of my view that the Brahmoī inscription is of early origin. This form of the *y* is found only in the most ancient Tibetan epigraphs. In the 11th century, the subjoined *y* is between perpendicular and horizontal, and from the 15th century onwards its position below the consonant base is horizontal.

To fix the date of a Tibetan inscription on palæographical grounds, it is of course safer, if the data required can be drawn from a long inscription. But, short as the Brahmoī inscription is, its epigraphical peculiarities point distinctly to an ancient origin.

Then, what historical evidence can be adduced, to explain the existence of Tibetan princes in the valley of Brahmapura in early times? First of all, the Vamsavali (verse 18) of Chamṅa speaks of the conquest of Brahmoī by Kirs, during the reign of Lakṣmī varman, one of the early historical rulers of the country. I feel much inclined to identify the Kirs with the Tibetans whose kings were often designated by the word *Thar*, throne. There was a dynasty of *Thar* *Gyal*, later

¹ A full copy of the inscription on the rock is given in Appendix III.
Cf. also pp. 86 and 142.

Phu Sultans in the Sura valley, there were twelve dynasties of Khis among the ancient Tibetan kings, and some of the greatest Tibetan conquerors. *Khri song lde btsan*, *Khri lde gtsug mes ay tshe me*, and *Khri btsong lde btsan* have the word *Phu* in their names. This word is pronounced *Khi*, not *Phu*, by the nearest Tibetan neighbours of Chamba and Kishmi, the people of Sura and Pang. During the wars of those times certain unspecified tracts of India are claimed by the Tibetan historians to have been conquered by their kings. Not only this, but the Chinese historians (*Thsangshu*) when speaking of the Tibetan conquests of those times mention a country of *Polomen* as having been held by the Tibetans. The word *Polomen* which was identified with Brahman was believed to signify India in general. I feel, however, more inclined to identify it with the Budhal valley, i.e. with the Biahmori district. I am fully convinced that Brahmapura, the ancient Chamba State, was known to the Chinese of the 7th and subsequent centuries. We not only find the name of the capital, *Pa lo luk mo pu lo*, Brahmapura, mentioned in Hsuen Tsang¹ but also in other works which describe the 'Empire of the Eastern women'. According to them this empire was situated between Khotan, Tibet, Ladakh, and Brahmapura, and grave finds in Eastern Ladakh testify to the correctness of this statement. This empire comprised Rathsag Gage, and the eastern part of Ladakh.

The name *Khyung po* Garuda Land, points exactly to the same period of Tibetan history when this *Bonpo* name was common among Tibetan officials.

That the Brahmor district was once in the hands of the Tibetans, is also testified to by the modern Tibetan inscriptions which were discovered by Dr. Vogel at Ghosar in the vicinity of Brahmor. They were carved by Tibetan pilgrims who would not have come to this rather out of the way place, if they had not some historical connection with it.

TEXT

ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མཆོད་པོ་ (three times)

ཨོཾ་ཧཱུྃ་ཨོཾ་ཧཱུྃ་ཨོཾ་ཧཱུྃ་

The first is an invocation of Vajrasattva, as pointed out by Dr. Vogel, and the second is the ordinary *Om mani padme hum* formula. What specially indicates the recent date of these inscriptions, in particular, is the elaborate treatment of the nasal signs above the *o* and *u*. They cannot be more than 200 years old at the utmost. But they are probably of more recent origin.

¹ Hsuen Tsang (Si-yi-t'u travel Book Vol. I p. 108) locates *Pa lo luk mo pu lo* (391) or about 50 miles north of Hanoi which would take us in the upper valley of the Yama. Brahmor is about 200 miles or 1,000 to the north-west of Hanoi. It is possible that Hsuen Tsang refers to Brahmapura in the Lhasa valley but then it must be admitted that local names and bearings are regularly inaccurate. Conze's *Asiatic Geography* pp. 703-4 identifies *Pa lo luk mo pu lo* with Capital and Kharas which is east of Hanoi. But here no place of the name of Brahmapura is known to exist. — [J. P. V.]

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF ŚARADA INSCRIPTIONS.

(Excluded are those found in Chamba.)

A—*Kangra* (*Tigra* etc.)

Two stone slab inscriptions in the temple of Bujrath at Bujrath (Kurangram). They are dated Śaka samvat 1120 and Śaka samvat 50 (A.D. 1203) respectively, in the reign of Raja Paricaendra of Jalundhara (in Ferozepur) and contain the building of a temple dedicated to Śiva Vaidyanatha. Cf. Cunningham *I. S. R.* Vol. V, pp. 175 ff. Butler, *I. p. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 97, 118, Kailash *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX (1931) p. 164 and my note *I. R. A. S.* for 1907, p. 407, and *I. R. A. S.*, 1905-06, pp. 17 ff.

Stone slab inscription from the *pucca* house in the temple of Bujrath at Bujrath now Lahore Museum No. 163.

Defaced stone slab inscription in the temple of Siddhath at Bujrath. Cunningham, *I. S. R.* Vol. V, pp. 179 ff.

Pillar inscription in the temple of Siddhath at Bujrath.

Juna stone image inscription in the temple of Indresvar in Kangra City. It is dated Śaka samvat 80. Cf. Cunningham *I. S. R.* Vol. V, p. 164, and Butler, *I. p. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 170.

Stone slab inscription in the temple of Vajresvara or Mata Devi in Bhawan, a suburb of Kangra City. Only the next two lines and part of the third line were, the *maṅgala* and the first (*stava*) are in Śarada the rest is in Nagari. It is dated in the reign of Ravi Samsar Cand (Shah) Samsara Candraraj of Kangra and in that of Muhammad Sayyid Emperor of Delhi (A.D. 1433-1446). Cf. Cunningham *I. S. R.*, Vol. V, pp. 167 ff. and Butler *I. p. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 190, 197.

Brass Visnu statuette inscription from Litchpuri, Kangra District, now Lahore Museum. It is dated Śaka samvat 23; the century cannot be determined. Cf. *I. R. A. S.* for 1904-05, p. 109.

Stone slab inscription from the Kangra Fort now preserved in the Lahore Museum. Most of the lettering is obliterated. The date, if any, is lost. Cf. Cunningham, *I. S. R.*, Vol. V, p. 164, and *I. R. A. S.* for 1905-06, p. 14. The date as given to it by Cunningham is too early.

B—*Kulu* (*Astita*)

Stone slab inscription at entrance of temple of Samulhya Devi at Jagatsukh. It is dated Śaka samvat 100 (A.D. 1281) in the reign of Raja Bahadur Singh of Kulu. Cf. *I. R. A. S.* for 1903-04, p. 261 and Harcourt, *Kooloo*, pp. 822 ff.

Copper-plate inscription in possession of Pandit Mohan Lal of Chanda, now on loan British Museum Chamba, B. 10. It is dated Śaka samvat 35 (A.D. 1510), Kartika 11, in the reign of Bahadur Singh of Kulu and records a grant of land to Pandit Ram patra, the son of Pandit Surmand and *guru* to the Raja of Chamba. Cf. *I. R. A. S.* for 1902-03, pp. 261 ff. plate LXXI.

Rock inscription in two (?) lines near the gate of the *dharmalā* of Nirmal on the S. fly. The character is doubtful.

C—*Madia State*

Stone slab inscription in the temple of Tulika in the Old Mandi opposite Mandi City. It is dated Śaka samvat 1442, Kāli 1422 (A.D. 1520), Bhādrapada and records the foundation of that temple by Suratrasa Devi (Sakti in D. vij.).

Sati pillar inscriptions at Mandi City, the earliest dated Samvat 13 (A D 1637) they contain the dates of the death of the Rajs of Mandi Cf Cunningham, *A S R* Vol XIV, p 123, pls XXIX and XXX

Copper statuette of Siva in the place of the Raja in Mandi City Undated

D — Kashmir and Jammu

Fragmentary stone inscription from Srinagar, now Lahore Museum No 10 It is dated Sastri Samvat 68 (A D 992-3) in the reign of queen Didda

Stone inscription (20" by 20" by 11") from the house of a Brahman at Argom (Skr Hadigrama) *pargana* Nagam It records the construction of a brick *vilasa* of Lokmisha (Avilolite-sary) by Rama deva the son of Kulla deva, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been burnt down by King [Jaya] Samha It is dated [Sastri]-samvat 73 *Mrgat* *su te* 3 which if referred to the 13th century of the Lohala would correspond to Sunday, the 10th November, A D 1197 Cf Konow, *Jp Ind* Vol IX, No 46 pp 300-302

Stone inscription (20" by 20") at Srinagar in the wall of a merchant's house below the second bridge 18th (?) century Cf Marshall *Note on archaeological work in Kashmir*, p 17

Stone inscription at Srinagar below the third bridge Marshall, *Note*, p 17

Stone inscription at Khanmoh at the Bhuvane a spring It is dated Kahi 1330 Sastri Samvat 1 (A D 1425), Magasara *su te* 1 Friday, in the reign of Sultan Zunbil-abidin and records the building of a hermitage (*ashrama*) which was consecrated on that date Cf Marshall, *Note*, pp 18-20

Stone inscription built in the wall of a tank outside the village of Khanmoh, dated [Sastri]-samvat] 31 (?) *Pbha*[lgam] *su te* 7

Stone inscription built in the wall of a tank outside the village of Khanmoh, dated [Sastri]-samvat] 33 *Va*[lha] *su te* 7

Stone inscription on a grave in the cemetery surrounding the Ziyarat of Bahadudin at Hirapahat near Srinagar dated Samvat 60² *Stra*[vara] *va te* *pa* Friday in the reign of Muhammad Shah of Kashmir (A D 1487-1537) and is the epitaph of Sufid Khan, the son of Sultan Ibrahim (of Tumbur) Cf Hultzsch, *J D W G* Vol XL p 9, Kiellhorn *Ind Abt* Vol XX, p 134, and Marshall *Note* p 15

Stone inscription from Vijhlor (Bij Bihara) dated in the reign of Raja Rama-deva (A D, 1212-73) Cf Marshall *Note*, pp 20 f

Stone inscription from Vijhlor (Bij Bihara) dated [Saka (?)] samvat 68, *Vara* *kha* *su te* 7 in the reign of Raja Rama-deva Cf Marshall *Note*, p 21

Stone inscription from Vijhlor (Bij Bihara) in the bath of the Ziyarat of Nasir-ud-din Auliyah It is dated samvat (?) *Mrgasara* *su te* 1 Cf Marshall *Note*, p 21

Stone inscription from Vijhlor (Bij Bihara) in the northern wall of the mosque of Nasir-ud-din Auliyah It is dated Sastri samvat 13 *Sivana* *su te* 10 in the reign of Yasir-ud-deva Cf Marshall, *Note* p 22

Cave inscription at Lodha not far from Srinagar It consists of three lines and is undated It mentions a *sthapati* *putra* and ends *Lata* *aparah*

Stone inscription at Porejur, 7 mile from Krom It appears to be dated Samvat 126, *Va*[lha] *su te* 1

Stone (?) image inscription at Jambhal, 1 mile from Krom It is dated Samvat of *Vara* [*s* *kha*] *su te* 3

Stone inscription from a ruined temple at Babar (Skr Bhabhara) 17 miles east of Jammu The lettering is almost entirely obliterated Cf my note *Babar Bhabhara* in *J R A S* for 1907, p 103

Defaced *terqa* and inscription at Keshavpur or Keshpur (Skr Keshavata)

Two more slab inscription in a cave near Bhadrach (Skr Bhadracharya)

¹ It is uncertain whether this inscription is in teni Samvat

² According to Professor Kiellhorn *sa* *va* 60 stands for Saka 1196, in which case the date would correspond to Friday the 9th July, A D 1444

³ For information regarding this and the following two inscriptions I am indebted to Dr Konow late Jp graphist to the Government of India

E—*Indakul*¹

Rock image inscription near the village of Drai. It is undated and mentions the Ballmas'ia Lakesvar and Maitreya. It consists of seven lines. Cf. Vigne *Traité*, Vol II p. 393, Cunningham, *Jadul* p. 381 and plate XXX, and Fernelle *History of Western Tibet* (London, 1907), p. 52.

Maitreya (Byams pa) image inscription² near the village of Drai. It is dated in the 7th year, probably of the Sistræra and consists of fifteen lines partly obliterated. Cf. Cunningham, *ibidem*.

Sanskrit inscription in the hall of the Chugtan Monastery. Five lines. Cf. Fernelle *History of Western Tibet* (London, 1907), p. 52.

Two rock inscriptions, containing only the word *Gr*, at the bridge near Khaldze. Cf. Fernelle, *Z D M G* for 1907 pp. 59, 61.

F—*Lakul*

Stone image slab inscription at Okhos skor near Ssu in the Candra Valley (British Lahul).

G—*Gandhara*³

Rock inscription from Glagu, north east of Bidyan in Swat, now Lahore Museum No. 91. It is dated [Sastræ]samvat 9 (A.D. 1033). Translated in the reign of Humayun (Muzaf the son of Mahmud of Ghazni).

Stone inscription from Dul Mahat on the Indus bank beyond To bela, Hazara District, now Lahore Museum No. 108. It is dated [Sastræ]samvat 84. *Sriyuta va ti* 5.

Defaced stone inscription from Barikot in Upper Swat, now Lahore Museum No. 110. It is dated in the reign of Jayapala.

Stone inscription from Rangit (?) in Khadghal territory, now Lahore Museum No. 21 A.

Defaced rock inscription from Tarwari in Maudan Dunli and not far from Kofa on the right bank of the Panjkora, now Lahore Museum No. 70.

Defaced rock inscription from Jal Sahal (?) in Afghanistan, now Lahore Museum No. 159.

H—*Panjab Plains*

Fragmentary stone slab inscription from Salsar Tind near the village of Miani, Shikhar District, now Lahore Museum No. 159.

Stone slab inscription from a well at the village of Palam, 12 miles south west of Delhi City, recovered at Behar, Rohilkhand District, and now placed in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (Cat. No. B. 3). Only the concluding rectangular portion of the inscription (part of line 21 and the whole of line 22) is in Sharada. The rest composed in Sanskrit, is in Nagari. The inscription is dated Vikram samvat, 1337. *Sriyuta va ti* 16, Wednesday, corresponding either to the 26th June A.D. 1280 or to the 13th August A.D. 1281 in the reign of Sultan Ghuyth al-din Balban. Cf. *Atharva's sacred City* 1904 last chapter, pp. 73 ff., Thomas *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London, 1871, pp. 136 ff., *J A S R* Vol XLIII (1874), Part I pp. 104 ff. with facsimile and *Delhi Museum Catalogue*, pp. 18 ff.

APPENDIX II.

THE RĀJĀS OF BALOR (VALLĪPURA)

The following list is drawn from a P. Ingre (A) or Bamsali (Skr. *vamsavali*) in the possession of the descendant of the family priests of the Rajas of Balor, which I had copied at Balor in October 1906. In some cases I have added between brackets the names as they occur in another

¹ In various places of Salsar cremation tablets with the Balhath error in Sharada have been found.

² A third style carved on four sides has an inscription in five lines in a character which I am unable to identify.

³ Under this name are comprised the Peshawar district and surrounding Hill tracts.

⁴ He was the (A) Amalika Deva who was slain by the Rajas of Ghazni in 1247 and his body was used for his successors. Cf. Stern *Rajastan* Vol. 47, footnote.

be fixed but it cannot be far removed from A D 1160 Ajay or Aje P I I have proposed to identify with the Ajaya pal of the Sarjountan inscription (No 35) which is dated in the Kalyan year 4270 corresponding to A D 1160 (Cf above pp 76 f)

Here I may mention that the Rajatarangini gives the names of some other ancient rulers of Vallapura but none of them occurs in the Bansauli They are Primala and his son the Yuvraj Ananda raja who espoused the cause of the pretender Bhalsena (VIII 532, 542 and 547, cf 622) Jajjala of Vallapura, on the contrary assisted Sussala in the defence of Srinagara in A D 1132 (VIII 1063 cf above p 106) Among the queens of Sussala who burnt themselves at his death we find Jajjala from Vallapura (VIII 1444) Finally it is stated (VIII 2452) that Sussala's son and successor Jijasmah deposed Vilanma raja of Vallapura and replaced him by Gulhina These references in any case, prove that the Lohara kings of Kashmir exercised considerable influence in the affairs of Balar

As regards the Bansauli it does not supply any additional information until we come to Daulat Pal (No 36) His name (Arabic *daulat* = wealth fortune) indicates that we have now entered the Muhammadan period About him it is stated that he had eight sons who are all mentioned by name including one Sartori by a woman of the Thakku caste The eldest son Gajendur Pal succeeded and the seven others were presented with jagirs

His grandson Krsna Pal is mentioned as 'Raj Krishan Balaurajah' among the thirteen hill chieftains who were subdued by Zun Khan in Kola and appeared at Akbar's court with valuable presents in the 20th year of his reign (A D 1595)¹ It will be seen that 126 years had then elapsed since 1169 the date of Ajay Pal For this period the Bansauli has only twelve names which would give an average of 3½ years for each reign This circumstance as well as the evidence of the Rajatarangini leaves no doubt that for this period the Bansauli is incomplete For the following two centuries on the contrary, the Pedigree is reliable and contains a great deal more additional information than in the preceding part Besides several dates are supplied by documents in the Chamba archives, and by copper plates both in Chamba and in the former Balar (Barolli) State

It is not known when the capital was transferred from Balar to Basoli on the Ravi According

was situated on the route from Kanauj to Kashmir The ancient palace at Balar has architectural features (cusped arches) which show that it was built during the Muhammadan period The gate and towers which remain of the old fortifications of the town are ascribed to Krsna Pal who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Akbar

Above the palace there is a masonry tank which to judge from the style of decoration, also dates back to the Mughal period It was completely rebuilt some twenty years ago It is said to have contained a Nagari inscription with a date expressed in the Sastira era which was lost during repairs

Balar possesses also a stone temple which although very ruinous is still used for worship It is dedicated to Siva under the name Bilvakesvar or Harhar The temple faces west and consists of a stone *traga* Of the *mandapa* only the north and the east side a rough low wall has been constructed and a square slab with lotus rosette which must have been the central portion of the ceiling Originally the roof of the *mandapa* was supported by four pillars with plain round shafts, of which only that on the north east is still standing, of the other three the bases are still *in situ*

Nothing is known about the history of this temple It is ascribed to the Pandavas and is said to have been destroyed by the troops of Balar But according to others it collapsed some hundred and fifty years ago in the reign of Bhupendra Pal It is undoubtedly of great age

¹ Baroli Bala Raja was a Vilanma but placed him between Kalas Raj and Raj Mali

² The text says that he had eight sons but enumerates only eight

³ *Asiatic Researches* (Sri Lanka) Vol II, p 367 and *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta) Vol III, p 390

⁴ *India* Vol I, p 20

⁵ On Balar cf *Proc. T. memo*, p 84

Bhupati (or Bhavut) Pal, the grandson of Arson Pal is said to have been an exceedingly brave and powerful man. In proof of his physical strength it is said that he was able to rub out the letters of a rupee with his fingers. He conquered Kastur and brought from there the *linga* of Nalakanth which is still worshipped at Bishli. He planted it Kastur several edicts which were still extant at the time when the Banahit was written. It is stated that owing to the bad-harbing of Jagat Singh of Nurpur Bhupati Pal was kept a prisoner by the King (*patiala*) of Delhi for eighteen years. On his return he made Bishli (or Bishli) his capital after having slain a Rani of the name of Biso who held that place.¹ The name Biso is probably invented to account for the name Bishli but it is interesting to find here also reference to a conflict between a Rani and a Rana, such as is met with in the history of every hill state of the Punjab. The chronicle asserts that Bhupati Pal also plundered Napur which perhaps means that he joined the imperial troops in one of their expeditions against that principality.

Bhupati Pal had two sons Sangram Pal and Hindol (*B. Hindol*) Pal. The chronicle says that Sangram Pal like his father before him was imprisoned at Delhi and even ordered to be killed in consequence of the slandering of his neighbour Jagat Singh of Nurpur. Quite possibly the tradition in both cases is only based on a compulsory story of the two Bahmani Rujas at Delhi as he fuger, according to the story is started by Akbar. It is explicitly stated that Sangram Pal's imprisonment took place when he was still young. In this connection the following anecdote is related. The *Jagat*, having heard the report of Sangram's beauty, entreated the Emperor to allow him to enter the Harem so that they might be able to see him. The Emperor gave his permission on condition that he should be blindfolded. To this the *Jagat* objected as they wished to see his eyes also. The Emperor at last gave his consent and Sangram Pal was presented by the imperial ladies with jewels.

This account certainly does not point to a very rigorous confinement. The only pity is that exactly the same story is related of Prithvi Singh of Chambh, the contemporary of Sangram Pal.²

The chronicle further records that Sangram Pal conquered Kastur, Guler and Kahla (or Bidspur on the Satluj) and that he "plundered their realm from the Chambhals."³ We know that a controversy between Palar and Chamba had arisen regarding the possession of the *paraga* of Bhilim. But this dispute was decided in favour of Chamba, an imperial decree on the 28th March A.D. 1645⁴ as appears from a Patan document in the Chamba archive. In another document, undated, we find that Sangram Pal had built a fort in Chamba territory which was made the cause of a complaint before the imperial authorities. We shall do well, therefore, not to accept too readily the account of Sangram Pal's victories related in the local chronicle. The same authority holds that he fought twenty-two battles and married twenty-two times.

The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir* contains the following passage regarding one Sangram undoubtedly Sangram Pal of Bishli for which I am indebted to Mr. William Irvine —

"The news of the killing of Raji Man reached me (i.e. Jahangir) at this place. I had appointed him to head the army that had been sent against the fort of Sangri. When he arrived at Lahore, he heard that Sangram, one of the *zamindars* of the hill country of the Punjab had attacked his police and taken possession of part of his province. Considering it of the first importance to drive him out he sent against him. As Sangram had not the power to oppose him, he left the country of which he had taken possession and took refuge in distant hills and plains. Raji Man pursued him there and in his great pride not looking to the means by which he himself

¹ The same as we saw above is said of Man Sakya but there is reason to assume that Sakya was a still earlier ruler in the first part of the Mughal domination period.

² *Ch. Pat. G. No. 107*.

³ An illustration is supplied by a copper plate issued by Sangram Pal apparently in the year to which would correspond to A.D. 1610. The real place where it was written I am not sure that it is Bishli. I suppose it was written later, possibly at Bishli. Sangram Pal was a ruler of the hill country from which the *linga* of Nalakanth was taken from Chamba. Sangram Pal was a ruler of the hill country from which the *linga* of Nalakanth was taken from Chamba.

⁴ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir* translated by A. Rodgers ed. 1858 II. Description p. 101. The event related here took place in the 11th year from Jahangir's accession or A.D. 1616-17. Raji Man was perhaps Man Sakya of Guler.

could advance and retreat came up to him with a small force. When Sangram saw that he had nothing to flee by in accordance with this couplet—¹

‘In time of need when no [way of] flight is left,
The hand seizes the edge of the sharp sword’

A fight took place and according to what was decreed a bullet struck Raja Man and he delivered his soul to the Creator thereof. His men were defeated and a great number of them killed. The remainder wounded abandoned their horses and arms and with a hundred alarms escape half-dead.

Sangram Pal died without issue and was succeeded by his younger brother Hunda Pal. The latter's son and successor was Kipal Pal who in his turn was succeeded by his son Dhury Pal. The Chamba archives contain a treaty in Tani in between Dhury Pal and Uday Singh of Chamba. It is dated the 21st Asvina (of 81) corresponding to A.D. 1708.

The Bamsuh relates that Dhury Pal's personal charm was so great that the daughter of Nawab Dima Beg fell in love with him. But when the Nawab while in his *lakhori* ventured to mention the fact to the Raja, the latter drew his sword and caused all present to turn pale. The story is of course intended as an illustration of a Baluch Raja's pretensions in matrimonial matters.

Dhury Pal had two sons, Modun Pal and Ratin Pal. The former who succeeded is mentioned in a Persi *namah* dated in the 6th year of Alamgir II (A.D. 1756) and issued under the seal of Adina Beg. In this document it is said that the *pargana* of Jundh with its seventeen castles was originally in the possession of Chamba, but had been made over to Modun Pal Balaura owing to the unfaithfulness of Raja Ugar Singh of Chamba. It is now restored to the Chamba Raja Umed Singh. It does not appear from the document whether Modun Pal was still alive at the time when it was issued.

Melun Pal had two sons Jit Pal and Bikram Pal. Jit Pal succeeded and was in his turn succeeded by his son Amrit Pal. From about the middle of the 18th century the Basohli State became more and more dependent on Jammu than on its own power. It is interesting that this fact finds expression in the local chronicle which mentions that Jit Pal ‘used to assist’ Maharaja Dhruv Dev of Jammu. Further on it says, ‘Amrit Pal reigned by the grace of the illustrious King of Kangra Purnit Dev [of Jammu], Maharaja Dhruv Dev [and] Maharaja Ranyt Dev wrote with their own hand on a copper charter that it was a duty of their own house to maintain the *raj* of the Balamas ruling Ganga and Yamuna [the sacred rivers Ganges and Jamna] as witnesses. It is not known whether the plate is still extant. Thus the Balauras are from of old indebted (*arpatina*) to the Maharajas of Jammu and obedient (*tabaddir*) to them.’ Amrit Pal married a daughter of Maharaja Ranjit Dev who was the real founder of the modern Jammu State. It is further stated that Amrit Pal obtained Bhada through the favour of Ranjit Dev and also the *parganas* of Jhund and Bhatina in Chamba and Kathar(?) and Basantpur from Bhadurval. Local tradition adds to this Narayan as far as the Cidli including Shahpur and a part of Jerafa namely, Lalhaupur, Basantpur (already mentioned) and Thiam all on the right bank of the Ravi.

If we may accept the account of Amrit Pal's conquests it is difficult to say. This much is certain that he invaded Chamba during the minority of Raja Raj Singh and for a time held a large portion of that State apparently including the capital.² A copper plate exists issued by him to the ruler of the Chamba Raja in the Vikrami year 1831, Saka 1696 (A.D. 1771). Amrit Pal's invasion of Chamba territory is also testified to by two of our inscriptions (Nos. 34 and 38) which were wantonly destroyed on that occasion.³

The Bamsuh describes Amrit Pal as an ideal ruler. He protected his subjects like his own children. He made Brahman, Ksatryas, Rajputs and Vaisyas persevere in their *sandhya* prayers and persevered himself in *sandhya* prayers, worship and sacred duty (*dharma*). The four castes took their food in the *caula*. When the women came out of their houses and happened to meet a man, they at once turned their back to him. In this strain the chronicle praises his reign as the golden age.

Quoted from Sandhu's *Chamba's story* —

دست نگدن سر شمشیر کنر

دست سرور پر چو نماد کنر

¹ Chamba Ga citeer p. 99

² Cf. above pp. 21 and 23f. The exact date of the copper plate now in possession of Jyoti Chaudhary is Vikrami 1831 Saka 1696 Vaisakha purnima Vrsa para 15 corresponding to Wednesday, the 25th May A.D. 1771.

It appears indeed that the Bishoh State enjoyed great prosperity in the days of Amr Pal's sovereignty—a fact which however is probably due to the uncommon virtue of that ruler than to political circumstances. It should be remembered that the authority of the kings of Delhi in the Panjab, already weakened by the rise of the Sikhs, was crushed by Nahir Shah's invasion in 1739. In the same year in which Nuh Shah was assassinated (A.D. 1747) the Durand king Ahmad Shah made his first incursion into the Punjab. The Mughal emperor now lost all power in the Land of the Five Rivers, which henceforth became the scene of the deadly struggle between Afghans and Sikhs which lasted till the end of the century.

The unsettled state of affairs in the Plains made traders to Kashmir select the safer route through the lower Hills of the Panjab. The petty hill chieftains taxed toll on the merchandise carried through their territory and it is to this circumstance that both Bishoh and Jammu owe their rise about the middle of the 18th century.¹

The ruined palace of the Bahman Rajas at Basohli—a building of a size even more compared with their limited territory and political power—still testifies to the prosperity they enjoyed in those days. It is ascribed to Amr Pal and indeed the lowered Indo-Mughal style of the exterior points to the 18th century as the period of its construction. It is well described by Vigne² in the following lines: 'Bisohli contains a large but slovenly-looked building, and the place would hardly, as far as I could judge, be worth the traveller's notice were it not for the brilliant appearance of the palace of the old Rajas, which I thought the very finest building of the kind that I had seen in the East. Its square towers open and embattled parapets, projecting windows, Chinese roofed balconies, and most like tank in front, presented a general appearance which, without entering into specific detail, was sufficient to remind me of some of the most ancient and best structures of my own country. When viewed at the distance of a few miles from the path to Jammu it rises in relief from the dark masses of the lower range with a grandeur that I thought not inferior to that of Heidelberg, whilst with reference to more general effect, the line of snowy peak which are seen peering over the mountains immediately round it, were sufficient to render its relative position incomparably superior.'

The Banskoh ends the long account of Amr Pal's pedigree according that after an astrologer had foretold the day of his death he made over his State to his son Biju Pal and left in the midst of the Holi festival for Benares, where he died at the age of thirty-two.

After his death the fortunes of Bishoh declined. The Sikhs not content with ravaging the Panjab plains, now penetrated into the lower hills and harrassed the petty Rajas whose prosperity doubtless had stimulated their cupidity. Ranjit Dev of Ramnagar managed for a time to save his State by his wise policy, but under his son and successor Brijraj Dev the town of Jammu was conquered and ruled by Hukhat Singh Kanhera and Moha Singh Shikarpora.

Bishoh met a similar fate but here it was Raj Singh, the viceroy chief of Chamba who took the leading part. He had to avenge the murder committed at the hands of Amr Pal during his minority. He invaded and conquered Bishoh in 1752 burnt the town, and restored the country only on payment of a *labk* of rapties. The date of the conquest of Bishoh is recorded on a stone set into the pavement in front of the temple of Lakshmi Narayan at Chamba. It reads: 'Sardar 53 Chit gra, I Beshohle da shaher futa kila.' 'On the 1st Oct of the year 1752 (A.D. 1752) the town of Bishoh was conquered.'

Shortly afterwards, the traveller George Forster passed Basohli on his journey through the lower hills which he performed in the disguise of a Muhammadan trader. He crossed the River on the 10th April 1783. 'In the fore-noon,' he says³ 'were two Sieges going to the fort of which a detachment they belonged to, had taken possession in consequence of being called in to the assistance of the Bishohly [sic Bishoh] chief. Though this is the usual result of every connection made with the Sieges, the infatuated mountaineers never fail to seek their aid when engaged in war. A brothering chief [Raj Singh of Chamba] had invaded the Bishohly districts, plundered the inhabitants and burned their villages before any opposition was made. The Sieges

¹ Cf. Forster *Journey* Vol. I pp. 212 and 261. *Albion's India* Vol. I p. 206. *Western Himalayas* situated on the road from Kanury to Kailash.

² *Viceroy Travels* Vol. I pp. 171 f.

³ *Letter II story of the Fort of Chamba*, 1691 pp. 31 f. Forster *Journey* 17 1783.

⁴ *Journey* Vol. I, p. 235, 241 and pp. 270 ff.

were called in to repel the enemy, and defend the fort of Bissodiy, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation and refused to relinquish it. On his further journey through Basohli territory Forster was painfully struck by the dismal appearance of the country owing to the recent war.

The bone of contention between Basohli and Chamba was the territory of Bhilai and Jundh situated on the border of the two States. The Chamba archives contain a letter in Tankam in which Brajraj Dev of Jammu conveys to Raj Singh, on condition of service, these two *parganas* together with Bhandal, Kibai and Dzuln which evidently had remained occupied by Basohli since Amrit Pal's invasion of Chamba. It is dated the 15th Bhadon of the Sastar year 57 (A.D. 1781). In another Tankam document of the 18th Bhadon of the Sastar year 59 (A.D. 1783) we find the same statement. A third letter from Brajraj Dev dated the 20th Sawan of the same year enjoins the officials of the *pargana* of Jundh to be obedient to Raja Raj Singh. From these documents it appears that in those days both Basohli and Chamba regarded Jammu as their suzerain.

Notwithstanding this we find that after Raj Singh's death in 1794 Bijai Pal again made incursions into the frontier districts of Bhilai and Jundh with the result that Jit Singh of Chamba, who had succeeded his father, retaliated by invading Basohli and, after conquering the country, restored it on payment of war indemnity. A Tankam letter dated the 5th Sawan Sastar 72 (A.D. 1796) in which Bijai Pal promises Jit Singh to pay by instalments the amount due to Chamba probably relates to the facts just mentioned.

In this connection I must also mention two copper-plate grants issued by Vijayapala the son of Amritpal¹ and now preserved at Basohli. One is dated Vikrama 1846 or Saka 1711 corresponding to A.D. 1789 and the other Vikrama 1848 corresponding to A.D. 1791. They are in the possession of Pandit Hiru of Basohli.

Bijai Pal was succeeded by his son Mahendai Pal who concluded a compact with Jit Singh of Chamba in the Sastar year 82 (A.D. 1806) which is preserved in the Chamba archives. It is noteworthy that in the Basohli chief has only the title 'Mian' which perhaps indicates that his father was then still alive.

He was succeeded by his son Bhupindar Pal whose son and successor Kalyan Pal—the last of the Bihaurias—died childless at the age of twenty-two years. Vigne notes that when he first passed through Basohli the Raja was dead. One of his Ranas, a Maukotia princess, who survived him, lived in the palace for thirty years after his death receiving a pension of Rs. 1,500 a year from Jammu. The ancient Balor State was included in the *jagir* of Suet Singh, the Raja of Ramnagar and younger brother of the Jammu Raja Gulab Singh. At present Basohli is the head quarters of a Tahsildar. The only monument of the by-gone glory of the Bihuria princes is the old palace which their rivals and final conquerors, the Rajas of Jammu have allowed to fall into ruins. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

In the collection of miniatures in the Lahore Museum the Bihaurias are well represented, as it contains portraits of Bhupat Pal, Haridai Pal, Arpal Pal, Medini Pal, Jit Pal, Amrit Pal, Mahendai Pal and Bhupindar Pal.

¹ *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 272.

APPENDIX III.

MARKULA SLAB INSCRIPTION¹

BY THE REV A H FRANKT

TEXT

(2)

- [illegible]

AmfL[®]

1 *3 gyan*, instead of classical *gyan* 1 2 the inhumane 11 wrongly instead of the genuine
 case. 2 *gyan*, instead of ordinary *can*, 7 *gta* instead of classical *gta* 11 *Raj bag*, the name of
 the Pralokanah temple, means 'high hope'.

No exact date can be given to this inscription but it may be said for certain that it cannot be more than three centuries old.

TRANSLATION

- 1 Hail! The peacock vestments of the gulls are of white colour. Perfection is
2 the head ornament of Buddha. Look mercifully on [all] creation! Reverence to
3 Aśoka! Clothed in purity, he sits on the lotus throne one for all.

¹ The expression will be used in a slightly different sense from a usual one, and a long expression is probably the best way to express the meaning. Doubtful as to the place of the expression.

- 4 six hands feet Reverent to the image of the august
 [Avalokita] which rose of itself¹
 5 and which draws upwards to heaven the six kinds of creatures which are still performing
 the circuit [of transmigration] —To the victorious Vajravajra,
 6 the august great mother, the conqueress of the three times of fierce form to the lady
 7 who gives two fold relief to all the ill, solitary and insane, let reverence and praise!
 8 as an opportunity for virtue
 9 nine thousand *stems* (*On naiti padme kum*) were raised (carved) on unchangeable stone
 Well besides these.
 10 at the august Re-planting (Trilok-nath), and at Mar-skul, at both Mani
 wheel
 11 raised At the monastery of Mar-skul a new monastery was raised (or 'was
 raised new' renovated)
 12. May all beings obtain Buddhahood quickly through this virtue!
 13 Hail!

APPENDIX IV

SUPPOSED COIN OF ĀSATA OF CHAMBĀ

Mr V A Smith¹ has advanced the hypothesis that a rare silver coin of a debased bull-and-horseman type might be ascribed to Āsata the chief of Chamṇā

Mr R Bern, I.C.S. has favoured me with the following note on the subject "My suggestion is that for *Asata* we should read *Amṛta* and I would assign it to the Amṛta parā of the inscriptions found near Bulani² (Budan district, United Provinces) Smith's *Catalogue of the Indian Museum* plate XXVI 6, shows a fair specimen "

"You will see that the first letter is clearly a not ā. The second letter might be read, at first sight as sa or na. Close examination shows that the right hand perpendicular line is curved at the bottom to the right. If you will compare this coin with No 20 on the same plate, you will see that there is quite sufficient ground for taking the curve as the vowel r. For the symbol just above the quarters of the horse is universally admitted to be P; [tṣv]. I would similarly read na."

Cunningham *Coins of Ancient India*, says that these coins are rare and Smith repeats this. As a matter of fact the coins are fairly common between Meerut and Bareilly. I have seen more than one find. One came from Meerut District, and the other from some place in Rohilkhand. Delmerick who spent a long time at Bulani said he considered the coins common. It was this circumstance which first led me to connect the coins with the line of rulers referred to in the inscription, and eventually to recognize the letters *na*, hitherto misread *sa*."

"Lastly Smith does not account for the change from *ta* to *ta*, the clear reading on the coin."

"The inscription may reasonably be dated early in the 12th century, which would suit the coins."

¹ This refers to the belief that the marble image of Trilok-nath is not made of this stone but is self-created (Śrī, *svayam bhū*). Cf. also p. 15.

² Gods (here) men (piras) demons (ras) beasts (tṛga) celestial spirits (preta) and denizens of hell (naraka). Cf. Waddell *Jaraiya* p. 101.

³ Here Lal, the goddess of Marikā.

⁴ V A Smith *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum* Calcutta (Oxford 1906) pp. 211 f. and p. 219 plate XXVI 6.

⁵ *Jap. Ind.* Vol. I p. 61 ff.

⁶ The correct spelling would be *Badan*.

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